

ALTERNATE ROUTES

A JOURNAL of CRITICAL SOCIAL RESEARCH

Volume 14, 1997

Miami's Little Havana - A Nation in Exile

Lisa Drouillard

Global Village Chic:
"Multicultural Fashion" and the
Commodification of Pluralism

Nicole Bennett

Work in Progress:

Staging and Profiling:
The Constitution of the Endometriot Subject
in Gynecological Discourse

Emma Whelan



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A Journal of Critical Social Research

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Alternate Routes is a refereed multi-disciplinary journal published annually by graduate students in the department of Sociology and Anthropology at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada. Our mandate is to make *Alternate Routes* a forum for debate and exchange among graduate students throughout the country. We are therefore interested in receiving papers written by graduate students (or co-authored with faculty), regardless of their university affiliation.

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Alternate Routes is seeking submissions for Volume 15, 1998. The editorial collective is interested in papers that address current theoretical and substantive issues within the social sciences. Manuscripts will be anonymously reviewed by faculty members from academic institutions across the country. Please use the American Psychological Association (APA) referencing system and keep endnotes to a minimum. Papers should be submitted double-spaced and in triplicate. Floppy disks formatted in WordPerfect or Microsoft Word are required for papers accepted for publication.

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Introduction: Context, Content and Meaning in Interdisciplinary Perspectives

The articles in this volume of *Alternate Routes* all examine and assess phenomena located within larger structures of meaning which are either politically or socially encompassing. They aptly illustrate how identity politics, artistic expression, and medical categories are elaborated within contexts defined by extant social or political discourses which play an integral role in the mediation of the very form and content of these foci of analysis. Additionally, these articles take an interdisciplinary approach to the study of social phenomena, paying no more than nominal heed to the traditional divisions between the social science disciplines. Rather, they cross-cut these divisions, and locate their essence in the view that any phenomenon can be more appropriately accessible to understanding and its complexities better appreciated if not approached from within rigid disciplinary boundaries.

In her article, Drouillard examines the processes of ethnic identity creation within the Cuban exile community in Miami. The difficulties of being caught between “two worlds”—Cuban and American—generate an hybridised Miami-Cuban identity, where the articulation and production of nationalist discourse is contextualised within a setting which challenges successful integration into US society. Central to her thesis is a recognition of the symbols representing the shared sacrifices of this “imagined community.” Bennett deals with the reproduction of particular strands of current ethnic and racial discourse in the modern fashion industry. She considers the way in which artistic expression, in her case fashion, can be given to producing stereotypical images of non-western peoples and commoditising their cultural

products in ways that do little to promote greater cross-cultural understanding or appreciation. In the final piece, a work-in-progress, Whelan examines the role of expert knowledge in the "constitution of subjectivity" through a case study of the gynecological disease of endometriosis. Medical codifications of this disease, she suggests, construct an "endometriotic subject" which causes research and treatment protocols to be framed in ways which can obscure patients' expressed concerns and experiences of the disease. She demonstrates, however, that patient organizations are challenging these official categorisations, and raise the possibility of resistance to them.

Each of these contributions, to reiterate, approach their topic from an interdisciplinary perspective which takes cognizance of the encompassing structures and contexts of meaning. It is anticipated that the scope of this contextual and interdisciplinary approach may provide material for consideration in social science research, and that this consideration may also lead to such research or an appreciation of research thus conducted.

Miami's Little Havana - A Nation in Exile

Lisa Drouillard

Even a cursory analysis of the political discourse of Miami's Cuban-American enclave is likely to jar one's understanding of what constitutes *local* politics and what lies within the realm of international affairs. Beyond the perennial focus of Miami's public officials on events outside of their borders, residents and visitors display a confusion over the location and relevance of national boundaries. American tourists sense they have entered into a foreign land when visiting South Florida, Cuban immigrants living elsewhere "return" to Miami to feel at home in Havana, and travelers leaving the city may pass billboards reading: "Now re-entering the United States of America" (Rieff, 1987:29). When residents refer to Miami as a 'truly international city' or the 'capital of Latin America', they make reference to many of the structural characteristics that have led a number of academic analyses to categorize Miami as a new 'global city', comparable in character and function with New York or London. Underlying the analysis that follows is the contention that Miami's Cuban enclave has not contributed merely to the international flavor of the locale but has engaged in a process of 'nation-building' within the city. The article borrows from contemporary studies of nationalism which describe the nation as a "community imagined through the artifacts of collective sacrifice" (Balakrishnan, 1995:65).

Benedict Anderson's (1991) conceptualization of the emergence of the nation and the spread of nationalist ideology has had a profound impact on the study of these phenomena. While Anderson's work has not escaped criticism, he has been widely acknowledged for having constructed a hypothesis which effec-

tively relieves the tension between the “primordial” versus the “instrumental” definitions of the nation.¹ By defining national identity as a perceived membership in an imagined political community, Anderson’s work has initiated a more flexible application of the concept of nationalism which seems both appropriate and necessary in an era when nationalist loyalties are increasingly fragmented by the related processes of economic globalization and expanded autonomy of global cities in their interaction with the global economy. Anderson’s more recent work on the emergence and spread of long-distance nationalist movements has noted that the hybridity of national cultures evident in contemporary movements of “long-distance nationalism” does not differentiate these movements significantly from more conventional histories of national creation. Anderson points to several problematic features of these new forms of nationalism where participants are relieved of the demand for any commitment to any ultimate patriotic sacrifice, such as responding to a call to arms (Anderson, 1994:327). This article will examine the pertinence of Anderson’s depiction of nationalist movements as “projects for coming home from exile, for the resolution of hybridity” and will emphasize the significance of military involvement in the creation of an imagined nation (Anderson, 1994:319).

4 The case study will examine the discourse and activities of the dominant convention of Cuban-American nationalists and also the manner in which nationalist culture is reproduced in urban politics and the cultural landscape of Miami. The community has distinguished itself politically by its tenacious attachment to a hyphenated national identity and by the involvement of many of its members in American foreign policy initiatives. Here the creative tension between perceived “primordial” characteristics of national culture and the pragmatic adaptation by the Cubans to their place in political geography has developed Little Havana’s hybrid national character. Above and beyond the aspirations of many Miami Cubans for the establish-

ment of their sovereign control over their homeland, members of the community have created, as much as maintained, the political, cultural and economic status of a nation in exile, awaiting not for the chance to rebuild Cuba, but to replace it.

MIGRATION, COMMUNICATION AND SACRIFICE

Anderson's work has focused on two significant factors which have generated nationalism that are closely linked to the broader dynamics in the rise of capitalism: mass communications and migration (1992:7). While his study of nation-building in *Immagined Communities* (1991) focuses mainly on institutions of nationalism that were established in tandem with the development of industrial capitalism in the 19th century, communication/translation and displacement/exile remain as central features in the development of post-industrial nodes of production and management as well. Anderson identifies similarities in the processes of nation-building in different historical contexts and has proposed that the establishment of a common identity and sense of place involves either actual or imagined returns from exile. The Cuban enclave shares with the early American colonies a project of re-shaping the space where they have landed in the image of a place they remember. Exiles do not merely share an identity or destiny by virtue of a common birthplace, but also by their collective memories of being torn from it and through their efforts to (re-)create a *New York* or *Little Havana*. An understanding of the commonalties between Cuban Miami's nationalist projects and the dynamics that shaped earlier constructions of other imagined communities helps to explain the cohesiveness and trust which makes the enclave a powerful political and cultural force in the region.

Struggles over language are important processes among the conditions of reception that help to solidify the formation of collective identity in immigrant communities. While the use of a common language may not be a sufficient condition for the establishment of institutions of loyalty and trust within a group

of immigrants, the imposition of an official language of state on an immigrant group can sharply delineate the boundaries of a linguistic community. The sense of exile is often strongest among young bilinguals, as Anderson (1994:319) has noted, who are educated in a language other than their mother tongue and can thus recognize the manner in which their own language is devalued by the state and the majority population. Reclaiming the vernacular becomes a significant component of the struggle for recognition of a national identity.

6 While many immigrants may create a shared identity under conditions of alienation from both the host society and the sending nation, there is considerable skepticism over the extent to which the fraternal bonds of nationalism as a cultural system are sufficient to command fatal patriotic sacrifices. Gopal Balakrishnan (1995:66), and John Breuilly (1985:73) have each noted that the focus on the cultural and linguistic components of nationalism in Anderson's work is at odds with one of his central organizing questions in *Imagined Communities*. What makes it possible, Anderson asks, "for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings?" (Anderson, 1991:7) Balakrishnan contributes an analysis of the experience of war as a significant force which calls up national imaginings which are generally dormant in everyday life:

The purity and fatality of national imaginings do not arise spontaneously from the social organization of vernacular language, but through the risks of membership in a 'community of life and death'. [The nation] speaks the voice of fate when it speaks in one voice, and this is usually and most pointedly in times of war (Balakrishnan, 1995:68)

While contemporary 'long-distance nationalists', as Anderson notes (1992:13), are unaccountable for their political actions militarily, the Miami case provides evidence that the discourse of military valour is still a central animator of national imaginings.

Miami's cenotaph for the soldiers lost at the Bay of Pigs serves as the nationalist symbol around which Cuban immigrants of varying political persuasions can recognise their common struggles and objectives. In the Miami context then, Balakrishnan's (1995:65) reformulation of the definition of the nation as "a community imagined through the artefacts of collective sacrifice" seems very apt.

A REFUGEE SHOWCASE

The Cuban population in Miami is comprised of individuals from all classes, races and political leanings with diversity of experiences in both Cuba and the United States. Among the first wave of exiles (1959-62) the vast majority of the émigrés either held direct political ties to the Batista government or were beholden to a political and economic system that would collapse entirely with the withdrawal of American capital (Pedraza, 1992:237). Throughout the decade that followed, the exodus remained largely middle and upper-middle class. However as each year passed, it grew to represent the diversity of the Cuban population. By the time of the arrival of the Mariel boatlift in 1980, the makeup of the exodus had changed so dramatically that the new entrants were almost unrecognizable as Cubans to many members of the enclave. "There were not that many Blacks in Cuba," was an often heard remark in 1980, "these are Angolans" (de los Angeles Torres, 1990:33)². Indeed, given the differences in national cultures and personal experiences between these groups of immigrants, the Marielitos could just as well have arrived from a different continent. Despite the growing heterogeneity in the émigré population, however, the discourse of exile unity has been asserted with greater force with each passing decade and each new wave of émigrés.

The initial decision of the Eisenhower government to welcome the first wave of Cuban immigrants to South Florida was ostensibly based on a calculation of humanitarian concerns, the propaganda value of a mass exodus from Cuba, and the possibil-

ity of employing exile forces to overthrow the revolution (Masud-Piloto, 1996:33). Between 1959 and 1962, a population of over 153,000 immigrants emigrated to the Miami region, draining skilled workers and professionals from the Cuban labour market, and thrusting the resort town into the space of both Cold War politics and another country's national struggles (Azicri, 1982:56).

Given the émigré's symbolic importance, the Cuban "exile colony" received a level of specialized care and a command of resources unparalleled in the history of U.S. immigration (Azicri, 1982: 59; Mohl, 1986:8). At an estimated cost of around one billion dollars, the Cuban Refugee Program invested in housing, healthcare facilities, education, and job placement (including assistance in the translation of job skills and professional qualifications) (Masud-Piloto, 1996:49; Pedraza-Bailey, 1985:47). This obliging treatment provided the émigrés with the financial, technical and human capital they would need both to succeed economically and to re-establish many institutions of Cuban culture in a new locale. Not surprisingly, the program led to a significant increase in immigration. It also shaped the establishment of a set of political and socioeconomic interests in the Cuban community that were very different both from those of other U.S. minority groups and from the local population (Azicri, 1982:59).

8 A significant component of the Cuban Refugee Program was the resettlement of thousands of émigrés across the country to prevent an unmanageable concentration of refugees in Miami. This settlement policy had an enormous impact on the cultural and political construction of Miami as a Cuban space given that the program effectively "exiled" thousands of Cubans from an imagined homeland in Miami (Allman, 1987:294; Portes and Stepick, 1993:104). Only a decade after the costly resettlement project, thousands of Cubans had started to return to Miami to vacation, to conduct business, and ultimately to resettle.³ Many returning Cubans have expressed sentiments of home-

coming emerging out of this last migration:

From the moment I arrived, I knew I had returned to the Cuba that my parents had always described to me as a kid growing up in Los Angeles...And Miami is the only place where the Cuba they loved and taught me to love still exists (Darío Moreno, cited in Rieff, 1993:134)

By 1980, the return of exiles from the North came to surpass both the flow of immigrants involved in the Mariel boatlifts from Cuba and the influx of Haitian refugees (Allman, 1987:324). As Cuban families gained the financial independence to decline the foster care provided by the state, many returned to a place that had been transformed by visions of a Cuban home similar to those they may have harboured through their winters in Milwaukee or New Jersey.

The engagement of thousands of Cuban exiles in America's Cold War struggles served to consolidate the position of Miami as the space of an exiled Cuban nation. The manner in which the exiles were recruited and organized in their participation in the Bay of Pigs invasion reinforced the community's sense of exceptionalism and historic purpose. When the Kennedy administration chose to employ a strategy of facilitating an insurrection within the island assisted by the landing of Cuban exile forces, the operation was framed in the discourse of national self-determination (Forment, 1989:56). The dismal failure of the invasion created a number of significant cultural and political by-products which helped to solidify the unity of the Cuban enclave: it shattered the hopes of an imminent return for the exiles; it provided the Cubans with a history of military valor and a monument to their national martyrs; it created a profound distrust of the commitment of the American government to the Cuban exile's nationalist cause and illuminated the rifts between Cuban and American interests; and lastly, it necessitated subsequent long-range programs to involve the exile community in

American military initiatives in order to maintain control over further independent attempts at insurrection that would inevitably ensue (Didion, 1987:19; Masud-Piloto, 1996:48).

Throughout the next three decades the “exile colony” was used as a pool of agents in sabotage initiatives and military campaigns across the Caribbean Basin and Central America, and in the establishment of the country’s second largest CIA station at the University of Miami (Grosfoguel, 1993:159). This development eased the absorption of the Cubans into the local labour market and heightened the militarism of the Little Havana discourse. With an estimated 12,000 Cubans on its official payroll by the early 1960s, the CIA became one of Florida’s largest employers (Stepick, 1992:41). Despite the investment of hundreds of millions of dollars into anti-Castro military initiatives, the need to establish the impression that the U.S. was not involved in the exile group’s operations encouraged the appropriation of these battles by the Cuban community. The attempt to distance the American government publicly from their military struggles contributed to the sense of betrayal already present in the exile community.

10

The federal government’s long-term investments in the enclave easily surpassed expenditures of any other immigrant settlement policy. The budget for the Cuban Refugee Program exceeded that of the entire Alliance For Progress initiatives and has been touted as the American’s most successful “international development programs” (Grosfoguel, 1993:161; Stepick, 1992:40). Assistance to the nationalist movement’s military and political struggles has also been extraordinary. Nonetheless, the discourse of American betrayal has remained a powerful unifying force within the exile community.

LANGUAGE AND DIFFERENCE IN THE LOCAL ARENA

The Cuban’s sense of alienation from the host society and government has been evident in the relations between the enclave and the non-hispanic population of Miami as well as on the

national level. The open hostility towards the Cubans from some segments of the Miami population has contributed to the community's sense of exceptionalism and has encouraged the articulation of a distinct platform of national interests.

Miami's Anglo community initially extended a cautious welcome to the émigrés arriving in the early 1960s. However, Miami residents soon became overwhelmed by the flow of immigrants, and many residents resented being saddled with a crisis created in another country (García, 1996:19). When federal aid began to pour in, many residents were both grateful for the relief but were dismayed by the lavish treatment of the émigrés, particularly in the face of the poor conditions evident in Miami's black neighbourhoods. From these early stages onward, both Anglo and African-American communities expressed resentment for the Cubans who were at once too successful, too independent, yet too great a drain on the public purse (Rieff, 1987:71). This hostile response to the Cuban presence has often provided the Cubans with evidence that they are a persecuted minority group forced to struggle for respect and representation (Croucher, 1994:195).

In response to the Latinization in Miami after the Mariel boatlifts, the city's English-speaking community lashed out in a direct attempt to re-establish the Americanness of their own space. Since 1973 Dade County had been declared officially bilingual and offered a variety of public services in both Spanish and English. In 1980 the crisis of the Marielitos strained relations between the Cubans and the Anglo population culminating in a citizen-generated initiative to prohibit "the expenditure of county funds for the purpose of utilizing any other language than English, or promoting any other culture than that of the United States (Stack and Warren, 1990:16)." While the anti-bilingual ordinance had little substantive impact on the availability of services, the political battles that it incited helped to cement Cuban-American solidarity. The overwhelming support of the Anglo community for the ordinance strengthened the perception that

the Cubans were not being afforded a voice in their community proportionate to their contributions to its development. It also compelled the Miami Cubans to make minority status part of their reactive ethnic discourse from this point onward (Baloyra, 1991:131;Croucher, 1994:195)⁴. Exile leaders did not merely claim they had a right to express themselves in their own tongue, but asserted the dominance of the Spanish language in the locale. Frank Soler, the first editor of *El Herald* remarked after the anti-bilingual ordinance was passed: "Oh well, we'll just have to go back to using one language. Spanish, I mean. (Rieff, 1987:36)."

Both the generous reception initially provided to the Cubans by the federal government and heightened sense of difference from Miami natives, allowed many Cubans to wait out the first two decades of the exile as though they were merely caught at the airport fighting for a speedy return home. Policies such as the anti-bilingual ordinance inspired collective indignance within the enclave, and encouraged many members to unpack their political bags and to stake out their own political territory.

MAS COMMUNICATION

During the late 1970s a staunchly conservative political establishment in Little Havana gained both influence and a greater command over political and economic resources. In the early 1980s Miami millionaire Jorge Mas Canosa secured the support of the Cuban community's business elite and that of the federal government for the establishment of a powerful exile lobby group, the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF). In barely a decade, the Foundation succeeded in raising the profile of Little Havana politics from talk radio terrorism and community center rhetoric to the UN Human Rights Commission and the Society of International Business Fellows.

Chairman Jorge Mas initiated and administered America's media war on Cuba for close to a decade by securing the federal funds to establish Radio Martí and TV Martí. These media have

been used to break Castro's "information monopoly" by providing a mixed broadcast of American baseball scores, Mas Canosa's campaign speeches for his leadership in the new Cuba, and stories providing "alternative views of the country's own condition" (Spicer Nichols, 84:35; 90:30). CANF has also displayed a disturbing power to limit the freedom of expression and communication of Cubans on both sides of the Florida Straits. Journalist María de los Angeles Torres has claimed that "with a phonecall, Mas apparently can get the State Department to deny visas to Cubans from the island, as he did with the world-renowned dance band Orquesta Aragon when it was invited to Chicago in 1988 (90:35)."

The work of organizations like CANF have not merely brought exile politics into a the purview of a higher geographic scale of political governance, they have also altered the significance of spatial boundaries and the historical timeline of the American, Cuban-American and Cuban nations within the discourse and imagination of the exile. By moving beyond (though never abandoning) localized rhetoric and bullying, into the realm of direct interface with international powerbrokers outside the United States, CANF has shaped the exiles' image of their own power and place and has made the prospect of return seem more immanent and possible.

Radio and TV Martí were no mere "broadcasts to nowhere" as policy critics have called them (Kornbluh and Elliston, 1994: 194). For the national projects of the exile, the millions of dollars spent to establish and maintain this media provided the symbols of an imagined audience living in step with the exile just an AM radio-wave away. Figures such as Mas Canosa, whose rhetoric has so often been legitimized by its translation into U.S. foreign and domestic policy, have come to hold the power to confirm the exile's interpretation of regional geography. When asked by the newspaper *El Pais* in Spain whether he believed Americans would take over Cuba if Castro fell, Mas replied "That's bull----. They haven't even been able to take over Mi-

ami! (Chardy, 94:1B)”

MIAMI’S SOLDIERS

The contemporary images and realities of Little Havana’s unified right-wing political agenda is in part the product of successive struggles between these different political factions in the Cuban community. The ability of Miami’s ultra-conservative political groups to claim the martyrs of the Bay of Pigs Invasion as their brethren remains a powerful political tool. Contemporary nationalist groups consistently recall the collective sacrifices of the enclave’s military history both to make claims on the loyalty of co-nationals in Miami and to assert the right to dictate the political and economic treatment of Cuba in the international realm.

14 Carlos Forment (1989) has examined the construction of the national martyr in Miami throughout the early history of Florida’s Cuban enclave. The study demonstrates how competing anti-Castro movements created the ideational and material preconditions for the rise of the enclave as a “moral community” rather than a mere ethnic economy (Forment, 1989:60). Forment’s analysis traces the history of the ascendance of the exiles’ conservative political organizations in the wake of the failed Bay of Pigs invasion and the subsequent vilification of the Kennedy administration and notes how these events catalyzed a discourse of ethnic communitarianism that promulgated a distrust of Americans and other outsiders (Forment, 89:64). He relates this history to the contemporary economic success of the Cuban enclave, noting the following correlation:

If the enclave entrepreneur can today invoke collective claims in order to legitimize his patriarchal system of capital-labor relations and contribute to group cohesion it is because the militants and terrorists had earlier inculcated the community with these same notions (Forment, 1989:73).

Forment's analysis invokes the intensity and violence manifested in the definition of the Cuban-American nationalist identity. The struggles of competing claims on moral authority and legitimate representation of this ethnic community have been played out not only in the realm of discourse - the circulation of words - but also in battles claiming human lives. From the onset of the exile, nationalist rhetoric has been made credible by this immediate foreground of violent experience within the enclave.

As the Cuban émigrés became citizens of the United States, many began to use their political and economic resources as Americans to advance their projects for returning from exile. By the early 1980s the attempts to overthrow the Castro regime through assassination attempts or hit-and-run attacks on the Cuban coastline had largely ended. The heroes of the enclave's armed struggles generally remained as the leaders of the new national projects, though both their tactics and the objects of their political messages had changed dramatically. As the significance of the Cuban voting block and economic clout grew, the symbols of the exile experience, the fervor of anti-Castroism, and the militant commitment to shaping the future of Cuba became powerful means for municipal and state politicians to mobilize the support of the powerful enclave (Mohl, 86:8, Stack and Warren, 1990:16). The imprint of Cuban-American militarism is evident in the electorate's avid concern with each candidate's involvement in the Bay of Pigs Invasion, the veterans of which still hold an important qualification for holding public office in Miami in the 1990s.

LIMITED, STRATEGIC ASSIMILATION

Revisiting Anderson's conception of the creative strengths of hybrid identities as catalysts of nationalist movements, we can note that the most intense manifestations of a nationalist identity were most evident in Miami politics after a period of adjustment and formal assimilation (not to mention accumulation) and in the wake of a massive influx of exiles. Contrary to the general

assumption that "the decision to become an American citizen is an important indicator of assimilation" (Boswell and Curtis, 1984:173), it has been evident that Cuban-Americans have applied the power of their American citizenship to strengthen their nationalist, anti-Communist voice. Engagement in municipal and state politics has merely provided another forum for the émigrés continued preoccupation with the political status of their homeland (Perez, 1990:5) Little Havana's nationalist imagination has been combined with the strength and autonomy of the Cuban economic enclave to provide the city with an international image as the "Latin American Capital of the United States" and, within the U.S., the distinction of being the "only American city with its own foreign policy" (Mohl, 1986:11).

16 The symbols of Cuban-American national imagination have figured prominently in Miami politics over the last decade. The eventual policy outcome of the exiles' political power has been an overwhelming attention to symbolic expressions of anti-communism and support for initiatives (Mohl, 1986:8). A poignant example of the nature of Cuban bearing on local politics was the hostile reception encountered by Nelson Mandela during his visit to Miami in June of 1990. In view of Mandela's expressed gratitude to Fidel Castro and other communist leaders, neither the Miami, nor the Dade County mayor saw it fit to give the ANC leader any official recognition or key to the city (Croucher, 1994:190). In fact, a number of resolutions passed by the Miami City Council could have officially classified Mandela as *persona non grata* in the city. Both class and political power structures have mediated the clash of primordial sentiments between distinct ethnic groups in Miami city politics. The success of the Cuban community's invented ethnicity in the Mandela incident when compared to respect for black political recognition, attests to the fact that differences in political and economic power must be taken into account in any analysis of the social construction of ethnicity (Croucher, 1994:197).

CONCLUSION: STAKING OUT SPACE

The Miami case contrasts with Anderson's examination of long-distance nationalism in that it is unlike ethnic communities which merely export their influence or political candidates to directly to their country of origin. The Miami Cubans have truly succeeded in creating a "nation in exile" engaged not merely in inter-ethnic conflicts, but in nationalist confrontations with world leaders. It has asserted power through the creation of an immigrant nation in which interacts with international actors on its own turf and seeks to build an economic future for Cuba on its entrepreneurial and political successes. The enclave has constructed its cultural, political and economic institutions upon a foundation of generous state support, the Cuban community has succeeded in reconstructing the social landscape of an imagined nation to the extent that natives of Miami seem like the aliens in the new space.

Anderson's work has rightly emphasized the importance of the experience of exile and the struggles for control over communication and translation in both colonial nation-building and contemporary national imagination in immigrant communities. With regard to the author's studies of long-distance nationalism, however, the Miami Cubans provide evidence that projects of nation-building in among immigrants may share more with traditional nationalist movements than Anderson has discussed. The cultural and political value of the Little Havana national cenotaph supports the contention of scholars such as Balakrishnan that the discourse of military valour and the shared history of collective sacrifice are critical pillars upon which nationalist movements among immigrant communities are built. The attachment to places recreated in the image of an imagined homeland and the political appropriation of those spaces are also projects which Little Havana's nationalists share with those of earlier nationalist movements. An examination of the cultural (re)-territorialization of Cuban spaces in the city and the devel-

opment of strong capabilities for political and economic control over Cuban-Miami territory allows us a better understanding of the dynamics that have shaped the choices of many immigrants to maintain or develop a stronger patriotic loyalty to the -Cuban portion of their hyphenated national identity.

NOTES

1. Breuilly (1985:75) has noted a common tension between those who see nationalism as "the product of an underlying national reality" or a cultural community, and others who regard the nation as a myth employed as an instrument for political associations.
2. In a similar spirit, a Cuban American city official in Miami also noted that "the Marielitos are mostly black and mulattos of a colour I never saw or believed existed in Cuba" (Portes and Stepick, 1993:21).
3. By 1978 an estimated 40% of the Cubans living in Miami had moved there from another part of the country (Portes and Stepick, 1993:104).
4. Organizations that would become very powerful Cuban-American political lobby groups such as the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF) and the Spanish-American League Against Discrimination (SALAD) were born in part out of the mobilization against the language ordinance (Stack and Warren, 1992:177).

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Global Village Chic: "Multicultural Fashion" and the Commodification of Pluralism

Nicole Bennett

"I wanted to point out the tribal roots of body art and offer a little history lesson."-Fashion designer Jean Paul Gaultier (cited in *Vogue*, 1994:321)

"Blending primitive accessories, eighteenth-century shapes and stocking-sheer layers printed with ancient motifs, Gaultier presents a startling vision of cross cultural harmony." (*Vogue*, 1994:321)

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1. INTRODUCTION

In his 1994 "Global Village Chic" collection, Jean Paul Gaultier, a French designer known for his eccentricities, and often labelled one of the 'bad boys' of Paris fashion, brings together an eclectic combination of clothes meant to celebrate ethnic plurality.¹ The outfits which make up the Global Village Chic collection, combine various prints, cuts, fabrics, and accessories which borrow heavily from a variety of different cultural styles in order to produce a "multicultural effect."

Gaultier's Global Village Chic is arguably the quintessential example of a recent trend within the fashion industry which expresses a concern for cultural pluralism. This interest in pluralism is characteristic of the contemporary revival of exoticism within designer fashion in which elements associated with 'non-western'² cultural styles are incorporated into 'western' *haute*

couture lines. This renewed influence of 'ethnic' styles in the high fashion industry seemed to have reached its peak as Gaultier's Global Village Chic hit the runways. The trend is evident in the large number of fashion magazine articles and TV fashion spots which note the turn to ethnicity, exoticism, cultural blending, and multiculturalism in fashion in the 1990s. As *Flare* proclaims:

At the moment, it seems, nothing is more fashionable than being a woman of culture...designers are sewing up a cultural mosaic, with threads of Roman, Greek, African, Asian and Indian influence. The result is a multiethnic celebration of dress... (*Flare*, 1994c:70).

Dubbed "ethnic," "exotic," or "multicultural" fashion, this most recent appeal to non-western styles was presented as one of the main trends of the 1994 season (*Flare*, 1994b:74).

In this paper, I explore some of the meanings and messages associated with multicultural fashion as it is exemplified by Gaultier's work.³ I am particularly interested in the way in which Gaultier and other designers—including Giorgio, Donna Karan, Rifat Ozbek, Christian Lacroix, Emanuel Ungaro, Romeo Gigli and Oscar de La Renta—present themselves and are presented by others as commentators on racial and ethnic pluralism. I explore the ways in which their perspectives on pluralism resonate with discourses on race and ethnicity which take place in other fields.

Gaultier's work, and the larger trend of which it is a part, is of interest to me because of the way in which it incorporates, and responds to, current discourses on racial and ethnic tolerance. Global Village Chic, as part of a larger fashion trend in which ethnicity becomes a central element of fashion collections, provides us with a glimpse of the possibilities both opened up and foreclosed when ethno-cultural difference becomes commodified; when notions of racial and ethnic difference, tolerance, and blending are presented in commodity form.

In examining the way that the fashion industry describes its most recent turn to non-western influences, I begin with an un-

derstanding of fashion systems as culturally embedded; as both reflecting upon and contributing to contemporary cultural politics. Like other cultural products, fashion systems can be seen as responses to, or representations of, contemporary cultural politics, and also as component parts of those politics. While it can be argued that multicultural fashion is *primarily* a response to broader debates concerning ethno-cultural difference and plurality, it also makes some contribution to those debates. We should remain open to the possibility that, in presenting fashion which resonates with *particular strands* of the ongoing debates and dialogues concerning how we should understand and manage plurality and difference in contemporary western nation-states, multicultural fashion makes modest interventions into those debates. Having said this, I should stress that I do not want to overemphasize the influence of high fashion in shaping our understandings of racial and ethnic difference. Clearly, the influence of ethnic fashion is limited by its structural location within the larger systems of meaning-making which serve to produce and reproduce our cultural understandings of ethnic and cultural differences.

My interest in ethnic fashion is primarily as a case in which we can begin to examine the limitations of racial and ethnic pluralism as commodity forms. One point which this paper makes, through its examination of how cultural pluralism is expressed in fashion, is that the location of different contributions or interventions may also set boundaries on how difference is conceptualized within them. Pluralism expressed in the fashion industry in commodity form is, I suggest, inherently limited such that it is unable to move beyond particular ways of understanding of ethno-cultural difference. Though designers may genuinely be seeking to promote cultural understanding throughout their collections, ultimately their work cannot help but incorporate ethnicity in stereotypical ways reproducing exaggerated, reified, and over simplified notions of ethnic distinctions. I suggest that ethnicity, once commodified, is unable to engage

with the more radical strands of multiculturalism, as to do so would require understandings of difference which are simply incompatible with the needs of the commodity market.

2. ETHNIC FASHION IN THE 1990s:

EASTERN INFLUENCES AND CULTURAL PLURALISM

Two distinct and somewhat contradictory trends are discernible within the turn to ethnic fashion in the 1990s. The first trend is characterised by a focus upon 'the East'⁴ as a source of inspiration, as Asian (and occasionally Middle Eastern) cultural forms are incorporated into western fashion collections. Here, the turn to ethnicity is one in which designers have appropriated elements from styles associated with particular Asian or Middle Eastern cultures (for example Indian saris, or Japanese cuts and prints) and used these in constructing collections which interpret and transform these supposedly 'exotic' costumes into western fashion collections. As *Toronto Live Fashion*, states: You can tell that "the West's top designers have got the global spirit...by the *Eastern influences* in so many of their collections" (1994:42-emphasis in original).

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The cover story of *Flare's* January 1994 issue, entitled "What's Hot and What's Not in 1994," also attests to the turn to "eastern influences" in contemporary collections. Amongst those things listed as "hot" in Canadian fashion for 1994 are, "A passage to India" (referring to styles which get inspiration from the Sari), "Fine China" (referring to collections which incorporate both the silhouettes and fabric patterns inspired by 'traditional' Chinese designs) and "Asian Beauty" (*Flare*, 1994a:52). While overall a fairly wide variety of Eastern cultural products are drawn upon, the normal pattern here is one in which a single cultural source of inspiration for each line.

The second trend associated with ethnic fashion in the 1990s foregrounds cultural plurality and is represented by the mixing or blending of different ethno-cultural elements. Jean Paul

Gaultier's and Rifat Ozbek's collections may be the clearest examples of this trend in which designers bring a number of different cultural influences together. Sometimes referred to as "multicultural fashion," these collections are described by the designers themselves and by those who comment on their work as both reflecting and commenting on contemporary ethno/racial politics.

Multicultural fashion can be distinguished both from earlier appeals to non-western fashion and from the work of other contemporary designers who use a '*touch of ethnic*' in their lines or who focus on a single non-western influence, by the way it brings many disparate elements together as a type of global fashion *pastiche*.

The "multicultural effect" of each of the Global Village Chic outfits is produced by combining elements which evoke cultures from disparate historical periods and geographical regions. In one example pictured in *Vogue*, the caption reads: "Around the world in one outfit" (*Vogue*, March 1994). The photo itself shows a model donning a skin tight "tattoo" tube dress which is made of a combination of translucent elastic and opaque fabrics with a complicated print which reproduces parts of the patterns found on a number of Eastern European paper currencies, including both border and background designs and also denomination numbers. Her left wrist and forearm are tattooed with a swirly geometric pattern reminiscent of the more complicated henna patterns worn on the hands and feet of brides and young women in a number of regions of India (*Vogue*, 1994:332).

The themes of this outfit are repeated in altered forms in the other photographs which represent Gaultier's collection. The models sport a variety of clothes ranging from a bustier and leggings to a scarf-like sarong skirt matched with a see-through, skin tight, one armed, cropped top. Each is heavily jewelled with a combination of necklaces, ear, nose, and finger rings, wrist and ankle bracelets and headgear, all apparently influenced by non-western traditions. Body tattooing in swirling ab-

stract patterns, stick on jewels (reminiscent of the more fancy dress-'bindies' worn by Indian women, but placed in rows either along the bone of the nose or at the upper outside edges of the eyebrows) and a broad vertical shimmering grey line painted in the centre of the brow complicate the outfits and add a further layer of exoticism (*Vogue*, 1994:334-338).

Within each outfit of the Global Village collection, Gaultier's combining of elements, drawn from a variety of different cultural "inspirations," effectively foregrounds both pluralism and exoticism.

Together the use of *eastern influences* and the emergence of *multicultural fashion* exemplified by the Global Village Chic collection, form the dominant trends which characterise the appeal to exoticism in contemporary western high fashion systems.

We should not, of course, be surprised that high fashion designers have recently rediscovered exoticism. In the fashion industry context, exoticism is one of a large number of variables which are drawn upon by designers in an industry which is continually searching for ways to move beyond, build upon, or otherwise transform last year's look into something new. As Elizabeth Fox-Genovese (1987:11) has noted, the "first criteria" of the fashion industry is "newness or nowness." Fashion, she rightly points out "derives an important part of its everyday existence ... from change" (1987:11). In order to create designs which are reflective of the "nowness" of a particular period, which stand for, reflect, and in part define different historical moments, designers draw upon and combine in different ways all sorts of themes of which 'ethnicity' is one:

...designers are constantly searching for new ideas, themes and motifs from historical dress, non-European dress, popular culture and subcultures. Like birds of prey, they rob the nests of other fashion systems in a process of appropriation and cannibalization. These stylistic motifs are then reconstructed in a process of

bricolage, the creation of new patterns and modes from the kaleidoscopic pits and pieces of cultural debris. (Craik, 1994:ix-x)

Though the passage above may be read as suggesting that the process of selection and appropriation of 'non-western' fashion elements is more or less arbitrary, this is not altogether the case. As both the designers themselves and fashion industry commentators note, the use of different 'ethnic' elements should be seen in terms of industry responses and interventions into contemporary cultural politics.

3. MEANINGS AND MESSAGES:

HOW DIFFERENCE IS/CAN BE UNDERSTOOD IN MULTICULTURAL FASHION

What messages are designers such as Gaultier making with their multicultural fashion collections? What do they and the fashion commentators who interpret their collections say about ethnicity and racial and ethnic tolerance in their explanations of the various ethnic and multicultural fashion collections?

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(a) *Celebrating Pluralism*

With the Global Village Chic collection, Gaultier is implicitly responding and contributing to current debates on cultural pluralism, and cultural border-crossing. In Global Village Chic, he presents a '*celebration*' of pluralism by combining elements associated with different ethno-cultural groups, and making them speak to each other in the various outfits that make up the collection. The repetition of styles and colours in the various elements of each outfit allow the viewer to see each *as an outfit* rather than as an assembly of clashing or incompatible parts. As a metaphor for the peoples whose cultural products were the inspiration for the various elements of each outfit, Gaultier's Global Village Chic presents a clear statement about the ability for different ethno-cultural groups to come together

in harmony without losing their specificity. As *Vogue* (1994:333) states, in reference to the Global Village Chic line, "Gaultier presents a startling vision of cross-cultural harmony."

Through the Global Village collection, Gaultier responds (and contributes) to debates about the heterogeneity of contemporary societies in a way which celebrates cultural plurality and cross cultural experiences. Rather than responding by appealing to rhetorics of ethnic purity, separation, or assimilation, Gaultier presents consumers with a series of outfits that bring a number of different cultural products together in a celebration of diversity.

This celebration of diversity can also be witnessed in the work of Rifat Ozbek who, along with Gaultier, is described as being representative of the "multicultural slant" found in nineties fashions (*Vogue*, 1993:471). Ozbek's "Culture Club" collection which incorporates Indonesian prints, cavalry cut jackets, and Nepalese inspired hats trimmed with Mongolian fur, is described in *Vogue* as a style which is "truly a global cocktail:"

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Like a posse of vagabonds, [Ozbek's] eclectic group of girls decked out in wild mixes of Mongolian-fur-trimmed Nepalese hats and nylon taffeta trenches lend new meaning to the term global village (*Vogue*, 1993:471).

The models who pose in Ozbek's collection in *Vogue* embrace each other as they walk together in a line down a park lane. In Ozbek's image of the "global village" it is not conflict but rather harmony that results from crossing the borders that exist in diversity.

(b) On the nature of ethnicity:

Geographical and Temporal distinctions

What of the *nature* of ethnicity as it is presented in the fashions of Gaultier, Ozbek and others? In examining the descriptions of ethnic fashion in the 1990s, it is clear that the celebration of

diversity expressed in the recent turn to ethnicity in fashion is one which is consistent with understandings of ethno-cultural difference in which the term *ethnic* is associated with *non-western* and 'pre-modern' influences. Ethnicity is defined in terms of both geographical and temporal distinctions.

(i) *Ethnicity as non-western*

It is quickly evident from the descriptions of ethnic and multicultural fashion that *ethnic* refers to fashion which draws upon any 'non-western' cultural product.⁵ Ostensibly a geographical categorisation, in fact, the term *ethnic* is used as a banner under which fashion elements associated with any and all of the west's cultural "others" are grouped. Ethnic fashion refers to fashion whose designs (either in terms of cut, silhouette, type of apparel, accessories, prints, or details) are influenced by any cultural product not associated with the western cultural norm. Incorporating *any* 'non-western' influence seems to be sufficient for a collection to be grouped under the ethnic fashion banner. Thus we see Christian Lacroix's gilt embroidered silk Kimono house dresses, Franco Mirabelle's crumpled linen Nehru suits, and the eclectic mixing of Gaultier, all described as part of the recent re-emergence of ethnic fashion.

While the ethnic fashion collections introduced in the 1990s contain messages about celebrating cultural diversity, they also make clear distinctions between that which is *ethnic* and that which is *non-ethnic* fashion. While claiming to celebrate cultural and racial tolerance and border crossing, the collections also serve to maintain long held beliefs about the normality or universality of Euro-American cultural products by setting off all other cultural products as 'ethnic,' and/or exotic.

This positioning of some cultures as the *norm* and some as *different* is a common element in many of the liberal appeals to cultural, racial, and ethnic pluralism. Though the liberal approach seems to strive towards laudable goals such as recognition and celebration of diversity, it has been criticised by more

radical theorists for its failure to significantly challenge status quo conceptions of race and ethnicity. The liberal approach is criticised firstly for limiting the social contribution of 'ethnic' communities to that of being providers of cultural spice; livening up, but not fundamentally altering western cultural norms. Secondly, it is stressed that the liberal celebration of diversity serves ultimately to reproduce the privileged space of the (supposedly non-ethnic) norm and to maintain existing power hierarchies related to racial and ethnic differences. As Homi Bhabha (1990:208) states in his critique of liberal notions associated with the celebration of diversity, "it is commonplace of plural, democratic societies to say that they can encourage and accommodate cultural diversity;" that, in fact, "the sign of the cultured civilised attitude is the ability to appreciate cultures in a kind of *musée imaginaire*; as though one should be able to collect and appreciate them." However, while this approach encourages or celebrates plurality on one level, Bhabha also notes that there is an element of containment ever present with such appeals to cultural diversity, for there remains a transparent (often unarticulated) norm "given by the host society or dominant culture, which says 'these other cultures are fine, but we must be able to locate them within our own grid'" (1990:208).

Radical multiculturalists such as Bhabha suggest that it is not only the refusal to recognise difference which creates and maintains hierarchical dualities. As Bhabha points out, the liberal appeal to cultural pluralism also serves to contain difference and reproduce associated hierarchies through the continued reference to an imagined cultural norm (or grid as he puts it) as it celebrates cultural diversity. As he states "the universalism [of liberal multicultural societies] that paradoxically permits diversity masks ethnocentric norms, values and interests" (Bhabha, 1990:208).

Bhabha's critique of the "liberal relativist perspective" echoes critiques of early multiculturalism in Canada, which claimed that the celebration of diversity reflected in federal multicultural

policies and programs was one which forever relegated many groups to the position of second class "multicultural" citizens whose role was to add cultural spice to the apparently otherwise bland Canadian cultural landscape. The celebration of diversity promoted by multiculturalism, it was argued, while acknowledging plurality on one level, ultimately reproduced existing ethno-cultural hierarchies.⁶

Both the Global Village Chic collection and the overall turn to ethnic fashion of which it is a part are grounded in the same liberal understandings of ethnic and racial difference described and criticised above. The turn to ethnic fashion remains very much within a "celebration of diversity" approach to racial and ethnic tolerance as it is described by Bhabha. Though they appear to acknowledge and promote pluralism, they do so in ways which reproduce ethnocentric norms by positioning those that differ from the norm as *ethnic Others*.

The appeal to ethno-cultural diversity found in the fashion industry's turn to ethnicity is similar in this respect to the ways in which other industries have commodified ethnicity in the contemporary period. World beat music provides another example of commodified ethnicity whose emergence and popularity roughly coincide with the contemporary return to ethnic fashion. As Goodwin and Gore (1990:65) note, while the term *world beat* was originally "adopted by a loose aggregation of San Francisco musicians...who wanted a convenient label for their fusion of rock, funk, African and Afro Caribbean musics," its current meaning is significantly broader in scope. More recently, they note, "the term world beat has become a fashionable label for the musical traditions of regions other than North America and Europe" (Goodwin and Gore, 1990:65)⁷. In this respect, the term world beat incorporates and highlights "ethnicity" using a similar categorisation of norm and other as that reproduced by ethnic fashion.⁸ As with ethnic fashion, the defining characteristic of world beat music is based upon an oversimplified distinction between western cultural products and non-western cul-

tural products, a distinction that ultimately rests upon discourses of exoticism.

Elli Lester's work on the use of discourses of the exotic in fashion advertising presents a critical assessment of the way in which these discourses serve the purpose of a "global material culture" (1992:75). The ethnic fashion example which I am examining here, is similar to the case which Lester examines in the way in which ethnicity and exoticism are set off from the norm defined in terms of Western European and North American traditions, and in the way in which stereotypical images serve to objectify the ethnic other. Lester relates the Banana Republic catalogue to other texts in which the "costumed 'native,' is abstracted from his or her setting, and re-created as a metaphor for exotic difference." Through the strategies of (a) "the creation of the subject through the construction of a preferred reader," (with the exclusive use of white models) (b) the "uses of history and 'invented tradition' from the point of view of the preferred reader" (*not* from the point of view of the 'natives' in other words), (c) "the jumbling of spatial and temporal images" using collage and montage, and (d) "the construction of authenticity," Lester argues that the Banana Republic text accomplishes the "creation of the exotic Other" (1992:77-79). While there are similarities between the Banana Republic catalogue's strategic use of images of exoticism and the way in which the exotic is presented in ethnic fashion, Lester's analysis also brings to light a number of differences. For one thing, in ethnic fashion (in keeping with more recent trends in the fashion industry) the models who present the clothing are more often than not both white and women of colour. Thus, while there is a distinction between western and non-western which reproduces notions of which cultures are considered 'ethnic' in contemporary societies, there is also a space provided for western women of colour to be interpellated by this fashion. As well, the appeal to ethnicity is very different given the fact that within ethnic fashion, ethnicity becomes an integral part of the product being sold, not

simply a background image as in the Banana Republic catalogue. With ethnic fashion, consumers are encouraged to appropriate and play with ethnicity in much more intimate ways than anything being suggested by the Banana Republic catalogue which reproduces ethnicity at a distance from its preferred audience. The most striking difference, however, is that of the issue of cross-cultural blending. Within the contemporary turn to ethnic fashion in general, and especially within multicultural fashion as exemplified by the work of Gaultier and Ozbek, we can see appeals to cultural blending which resonate with contemporary calls for racial tolerance, and multiculturalism.

I should stress, however, that despite these appeals to ethno-cultural plurality, the commodification of ethno-cultural difference in contemporary ethnic fashion allows little room for representations which address the complexities and tensions surrounding ethno-cultural difference as it is actually lived by individuals and groups in contemporary societies. This sometimes results in rather odd representations of different ethno-cultural groups. Again, Gaultier's work provides an interesting example. In an earlier collection which combines elements inspired by street punk styles and the outfits worn by Hasidic Jewish men, models are dressed in outfits reminiscent of the long black coats worn by Hasidic men, with their hair made up to resemble the men's "payees" and donning imitation Sabbath "platter" hats. Gaultier, reflecting on his collection states that "Fashion always reflects society and what's going on in the world...Right now you can't ignore the mix of cultures and religions; you have to respond" (*Vogue*, 1993:471). He also describes the collection as a "homage to the Jewish religion" (*Vogue*, 1993:484). His choice of a Hasidic Jew-street punk fusion as his response to cultural and religious mixing and as "homage" to Judaism is rather perplexing. Hasidic communities are well known for their self-segregating practices. As communities, they support neither the mixing of cultures, nor the mixing of religions. Attempts to establish institutional completeness, with separate schools, stores,

and community centres attest to the Hasidic communities' desire to remain distinct from other groups with whom they often share neighbourhoods. They are also generally hostile to the "immodesty" of contemporary fashion maintaining rather strict gendered dress codes. (In recent years publicity has been garnered by Hasidic Jews in Jerusalem who have torched bus shelters with posters of "immodestly" dressed women.) It is unlikely given this, that the Hasidic communities would respond favourably to Gaultier's punk/Hasidic collection. They would, I think, neither see it as an appropriate homage to their faith nor would they likely endorse its message of cultural blending. Rather than paying homage to their faith, Gaultier's collection ends up making light of it in order to present a new flavour of exoticism for western fashion consumers.

Ultimately, Gaultier's lofty Punk-Hasid collection can in no way communicate the importance and meaning that Hasidic communities associate with their dress (nor for that matter does it likely communicate the importance and meaning of dress for street punks). The consumers of Gaultier's Hasid-Punk outfits will likely have no greater understanding after their purchase of either the Hasid or Punk sub-cultures and how their experiences and perspectives might differ from (and perhaps challenge) their own. Instead of promoting greater understanding, Gaultier's Hasid-Punk collection simply slaps two very different images together in a series of outfits which reduce culture to *exotic flare*.

(ii) *Ethnicity as a temporal distinction*

Besides the western/non-western dichotomy, there is a second defining characteristic of *ethnicity* as expressed in ethnic fashion. Ethnicity is presented within global fashion as *pre-modern* or at the very least as *pre-present*. While *Vogue* credits Gaultier with having created wardrobe for a "futuristic globe-trotting tribe," this is achieved by "blending *primitive* accessories, *eighteenth-century* shapes, and stocking sheer layers printed with *ancient*

motifs" (*Vogue*, 1994:333-my emphasis). That which is ethnic is clearly represented here and elsewhere as being located frozen in some moment prior to the present. This, despite the fact that the ethnic groups whose cultural products are being 'borrowed' exist very much in the present; despite the fact that the currencies which make up the "ancient motifs" on Gaultier's tube dresses were still being used in people's every day transactions even as Gaultier's models were posing with their designs hugging their bodies.

In representing non-western cultures as things of the past, western linear notions of the 'evolution' of cultures are reproduced and/or reinforced. This representation of non-western cultures as existing in some pre-present moment resonates with what James Clifford has called the "salvage paradigm" in anthropology in which "most non-western peoples are [perceived as] marginal to the advancing world system" (1987:122). The role of anthropology in the salvage paradigm, as Clifford describes it, is to salvage or collect the authentic identities and artefacts of these 'untouched' non-western groups before they are assimilated into the "Modern world:"

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Authenticity in culture or art exists just prior to the present—but not so distant or eroded as to make collection or salvage impossible. Marginal, non-western groups constantly (as the saying goes) enter the modern world. And whether this entry is celebrated or lamented, the price is always this: local, distinctive paths through modernity vanish. These historicities are swept up in a destiny dominated by the capitalist west and by various technologically advanced socialisms. What's *different* about peoples seen to be moving out of 'tradition' into 'the modern world' remains tied to inherited structures that either resist or yield to the new but cannot *produce* it (1987:122—emphasis in original).

Clifford's discussion is applicable to the ethnic fashion example which tends to highlight ethnic elements as artefacts from the past, and which relies primarily on the designer to take these 'historical' elements and transform them for present (or future) consumers in the west.⁹ As one article notes, "even Ralph Lauren, the king of aristocratic style" has embraced ethnic fashion with a collection of outfits that "conjure up images of nomadic immigrants adapting their own customs to a new world" (*Vogue* 1993:471)¹⁰.

In representing non-western cultures as existing *in the past*, and in reducing their cultural products to signifiers of exoticism, western designers are in fact dehistoricising and decontextualizing the communities whose products have inspired the various elements of different ethnic fashion collections. This being the case, it is particularly odd that Gaultier would claim as quoted above, that with the Global Village Chic collection, he wanted "to offer a little history lesson." Global Village Chic cannot provide us with a history lesson. Rather, what it presents us with is merely a collage of easily recognised symbols of exoticism.

While non-western cultures are presented as things of the past, their products are nonetheless fused by designers into "the latest fashion trend." In this way ethnic fashion is presented as a celebration both of the blending of culture and also of the blending of times.

(iii) *Ethnicity as exoticism*

Ethnic fashion which appeals to the idea that ethnic cultural products "come from" a specific (foreign/ancient) cultural context are presented to potential consumers primarily through the discourses of exoticism. In describing the elements of ethnic fashion collections, commentators highlight the idea that these products have 'come from' some cultural context other than the western norm. However, few of the descriptions of ethnic fashion mention the various cultures and groups whose cultural prod-

ucts have been used by designers to create their collections; often the influences remain completely unnamed. When descriptions *do* name influences, the references are often quite broad. *Vogue*, for example, notes that Gaultier's face jewellery borrows from "the far east" but leaves it at that. While we are told that the patterns of the tube dress "duplicate...snippets of Eastern European currency" (*Vogue*, 1994:333), we are not told which currencies. Despite the fact that the detailed henna painting from which Gaultier draws inspiration is a regionally specific cultural product, with different communities producing distinct patterns and using the paintings for different occasions, these specificities are lost as the body painting is appropriated and transformed by Gaultier for his collection. In uprooting cultural products, Gaultier and others are unable to communicate to the consumer anything of the specific cultural purpose or meaning previously attached to them as they are transformed into markers of exoticism.

The reduction of the elements of ethnic fashion to markers of exoticism, enables consumers to engage with ethnic pluralism in commodified forms without taking on any of the more difficult issues of power, hierarchy, privilege and oppression related to ethno-cultural difference as it is experienced both here in Canada and elsewhere. It is only through this process of simplification that ethnicity can appear as something that can be bought and sold. In this respect, the contemporary turn to ethnic and multicultural fashion is consistent with the fashion industry's earlier appeals to exoticism. As Craik points out in reference to Yves Saint Laurent's Peasant Dress collection of 1976, the collection "enabled the rich to 'play act' at being peasants" at the same time as it appealed to "ordinary women" who "felt an affinity with the humble origins of ...the new style." The recent turn to exoticism, like Saint Laurent's peasant collection, allows individuals who can afford it, to take on, and to play with the ethnicity of the Other at a superficial level without their having to engage with the true complexities of ethnicity as it is experienced by individuals in the cultures whose products they have

appropriated in altered forms. This is fashion which presents ethnicity as something that one can take up and then alter as easily as we change our clothes:

A Russian gypsy swathed in a paisley chiffon scarf-skirt today could very well turn up as a sexy Italian bombshell in a transparent black evening dress tomorrow. Call it a new democracy of style. (*Vogue*, 1993:471)

As bell hooks rightly notes, there is nothing in this type of appropriation and play with ethnicity which will necessarily lead to greater respect for ethno-cultural differences. The pleasure which commodified ethnicity brings, she argues, does not challenge people to re-examine their own positionalities within hierarchies of power. It does not even require that we acknowledge that such hierarchies exist. Hooks' discussion of the commodification of otherness both highlights the recent fascination with other cultures and their products, and shows how this trend does little to challenge the existing order:

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Within current debates about race and difference, mass culture is the contemporary location that both publicly declares and perpetuates the idea that there is pleasure to be found in the acknowledgement and enjoyment of racial difference. The commodification of Otherness has been so successful because it is offered as a new delight, more intense, more satisfying than normal ways of doing and feeling. Within commodity culture, ethnicity becomes a spice, seasoning that can liven up the dull dish that is mainstream white culture. (hooks, 1992:21)

Hooks argues that within contemporary North American and British popular culture, otherness is exploited by mainstream social forces, and that this exploitation serves to maintain the inequalities and structural relations which are associated with ethno-cultural difference. As she states,

from the standpoint of white supremacist capitalist patriarchy, the hope is that desires for the “primitive” or fantasies about the Other can be continually exploited, and that such exploitation will occur in a manner that reinscribes and maintains the *status quo* (1992:22-emphasis in original).

The commodification of otherness which hooks describes is engaged in similar processes of othering as that represented by Global Village Chic and other fashion lines incorporating “ethnic flavour” into western fashion. Hooks stresses that the commodification of otherness which perpetuates the idea that “there is pleasure to be found in the acknowledgement and enjoyment of racial difference,” in no way challenges the existing social hierarchies:

To make one’s self vulnerable to the seduction of difference, to seek an encounter with the Other, does not require that one relinquish forever one’s mainstream positionality. When race and ethnicity become commodified as resources for pleasure, the culture of specific groups, as well as the bodies of individuals, can be seen as constituting an alternative playground where members of dominating races, genders, sexual practices affirm their power-over in intimate relations with the other (1992:23).

Although ethnic fashion does not usually involve the sort of intimate relations between the dominating consumer and the ethnic Other which hooks is describing in the passage above, her comments are nonetheless relevant. The affirmation of the belief that there is pleasure to be found in an encounter with the other, that there is pleasure in ethno-cultural diversity, is part of the message projected with multicultural fashion. Like the commodification of otherness to which hooks refers, the celebration of ethno-cultural diversity found in Global Village Chic, is, ultimately, incompatible with the more radical understandings

of contemporary ethno-cultural difference proposed by Bhabha, hooks and other cultural theorists, who challenge us to take note not only of the existence of ethno-cultural differences, but to also critically explore how these differences are maintained and constructed and how they relate to the ways in which groups and individuals are symbolically and materially positioned within hierarchical societies.

The appeal to exoticism found in ethnic fashion fails to involve the questioning of positionalities or privilege. Whether the possibility exists of alternative constructions within the fashion industry which do allow for and perhaps even promote more critical re-evaluations of difference is doubtful, given the designers' needs to present clear, easily marketed images of exoticism for the consumer market.

4. CONCLUSION

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In *Adorned in Dreams*, Elizabeth Wilson argues that fashion is "a cultural phenomenon...an aesthetic medium for expression of ideas, beliefs and desires circulating in society" (1985:9). As I have shown, ethnic fashion as an aesthetic medium expresses *particular* ideas, *particular* beliefs, and *particular* desires about ethno-cultural difference and ethno-cultural tolerance. While there is clearly room within the descriptions of designers and fashion commentators for some differences in interpretation, it seems clear that some strands of the ongoing debates and dialogues on ethno-cultural difference will likely remain beyond the scope of commodified ethnicity such as exists in ethnic fashion. While fashion designers such as Gaultier can claim to be encouraging racial and ethnic understanding, their type of work, drawing as it does upon discourses of the exotic, does *not* lead to greater cross-cultural understanding. Rather, their collections simply reproduce in different forms stereotypical images which serve to further objectify groups and individuals positioned as 'ethnic.'

NOTES.

1. I would like to thank Jacob Bakan, Alan Hunt and two anonymous reviewers for critical comments on earlier drafts of this paper.
2. The author seeking to explore how stereotypical categories are evoked and used quickly encounters a difficulty: on the one hand there is a desire to challenge the existence of such categories, on the other hand it is difficult to describe and explore their use without adopting and thereby reproducing them. Though this appears to be a rather straight forward problem, it is one with which I continue to struggle. Here I have tried to follow what I think are two useful academic norms developed to deal with this issue—when introducing a term which I feel is problematic, I have highlighted this with the use of scare quotes. As well, I have tried where convenient to point out to the reader how/why I think the term is problematic.
3. This paper is part of a larger, ongoing project which seeks to explore and analyze how multicultural and pluralistic ideals are taken up in a variety of social settings by individuals and groups.
4. The classification of fashion as ethnic and/or exotic relies heavily upon a whole series of questionable assumptions about what are 'normal' western cultural forms and what are not. References to the East and Eastern influences which are common in representations of ethnic fashion in the 1990s serve to reify and artificially divide cultural forms into an oversimplified western/eastern dichotomy. In categorizing fashion in this way, individuals in the fashion industry treat cultures and cultural products as static, distinct classifications. In so doing they necessarily ignore hundreds of years of cultural influence and exchange. The ongoing movement of peoples and cross fertilization of cultural forms is such that to speak in terms of western and eastern fashion elements is necessarily somewhat of an oversimplification.
5. Once again, I should stress that these are highly problematic terms. As it is used, non-Western cultural products can be understood here to refer to products associated with cultures which lie outside of the Euro-American industrial, capitalist imagined norm. As such they include cultural products associated with the majority of the world's population including people from Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and South America. Also included in this classification of non-western are products from the west's *internal others* such as the aboriginal communities which have long inhabited regions such as north America and Australia and the western communities who have immigrated from or whose ancestors came from

non-European regions.

6. For examples of this line of critique in the Canadian multicultural context, see the work of Lupul (1982, 1983, 1989), Bullivant (1981), and Peter (1981).

7. As Goodwin and Gore note (1990:65), this has resulted in the recategorization as world beat of music such as *La Mystere de Voix Bulgares* (A Bulgarian women's choir), whose "largely traditional music...which would once have been categorized under the older label of 'international music' was considered, in 1988, to be on the cutting edge of 'new' music."

8. There are, of course, a number of differences between how ethno-cultural difference is dealt with by world beat and ethnic fashion. For example, with many traditional musical forms recategorised as world beat music, the world beat genre does not necessarily involve the same transformative processes through which non-western cultural products are packaged for western consumption as that which is characteristic of ethnic fashion. Under the category of world beat we can find not only a wide variety of different musical fusions, and transformed styles but also non-western cultural products which are *not* significantly transformed before being marketed to western consumers.

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9. For a discussion of the transformative processes through which 'authentic' ethnic costumes are appropriated and incorporated into western fashion collections see Eric Cohen's case study of the "Boutiquisation" of textiles from the hill tribes of northern Thailand (1988).

10. Representations of non-western people's cultural products as 'ancient' are consistent with the belief that those cultures themselves come from the past. In the Canadian context the combination of the geographical and temporal assumptions about ethnicity underlie the continued belief that rather than ever-changing dynamic human creations which are part of the present Canadian experience, 'ethnic' cultures are something brought to Canada (usually through the immigration process) with people from "the old country."

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Staging and Profiling: The Constitution of the Endometriotic Subject in Gynecological Discourse

Emma Whelan

INTRODUCTION

Endometriosis is defined as the presence of tissue resembling the endometrium (the lining of the uterus) *outside of* the uterus, most commonly in the pelvic cavity (CCCE, 1993:3)¹. According to gynecologists, this tissue behaves like the endometrium, thickening during the menstrual cycle, then disintegrating during menstruation—except that, unlike the menstrual flow in the uterus, the blood and tissue cannot leave the body through the vagina. Instead, they remain within the body and form cysts and adhesions on and around the pelvic organs, such as the ovaries, fallopian tubes, peritoneum, bowel, intestines, and bladder. The most common symptom of the disease is pelvic pain (often associated with menstruation or sexual intercourse, and frequently chronic); another, much less common symptom is infertility (Barlow and Glynn, 1993:775-776; Lamb, 1987:279; Pauerstein, 1989:133-134).

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In 1991, the Society of Obstetricians and Gynecologists of Canada began to plan a Canadian Consensus Conference on Endometriosis (CCCE) that would review the extant medical literature and provide “a guide for patients and physicians in the current management of this condition” (CCCE, 1993:2). A group of medical specialists, health economists, and representatives from the Endometriosis Association (a patient advocacy organization) was formed to participate in the conference. Although the CCCE’s Consensus Statement begins with the claim that

"Endometriosis has never been well understood," the conference participants nevertheless were able to reach consensus on all conclusions regarding "the diagnosis, natural history, pathogenesis, relationship with infertility and pain, and medical and surgical management of the disease" (ibid). Two of the CCCE's conclusions are pertinent to this discussion: (1) the best available evidence indicates that the presence of endometriosis is not related to the age, race, social class, or personality of the patient; and (2) the standard diagnostic assessment scale for endometriosis is deeply flawed (CCCE, 1993:7)

46 Two gynecological codifications are criticized in these two conclusions. The first conclusion pertains to the gynecological codification of the age, race, social class, and personality of the 'typical' endometriosis patient, which I will call the 'typical patient profile.' The second conclusion pertains to the Revised American Fertility Society (R-AFS) classification for endometriosis (American Fertility Society, 1985:2), the diagnostic assessment scale referred to by the CCCE above. These two codifications, the typical patient profile and the R-AFS classification, have helped to construct and reify medical, demographic, and psychological representations of women with endometriosis. They provide particularly salient examples of the means by which professional bodies and systems of expert knowledge attempt to define subject-populations and thereby to regulate them.

Of course, subject-populations often resist such attempts at definition and regulation, and the deconstruction of the R-AFS classification and the typical patient profile undertaken by endometriosis patient groups are examples of such resistance. This will be discussed below. As well, members of professional bodies and expert systems of knowledge are not a monolithic group. As the criticisms raised by the CCCE make clear, considerable debate about the typical patient profile and the R-AFS classification exist in gynecological circles, and throughout this

discussion medical criticisms of the two codifications will appear. However, the codifications are deployed in many contemporary gynecology textbooks and in many recent articles in prestigious gynecology journals. It is likely, therefore, that they continue to affect the treatment and diagnosis of women with endometriosis. Medical critics of the R-AFS classification and the typical patient profile nevertheless accept in principle the utility of classification schemes and patient profiles. Critics merely question the validity of the codifications currently in use, not their intent. Thus, I would argue that the attempt to define and regulate patient populations *per se* has gone unchallenged by gynecologists, and in that sense they *are* a monolithic group. It is this general acceptance within gynecology of the propriety of attempts to define and regulate patients in particular ways, rather than debates about whether the definitions themselves are scientifically accurate, that strikes me as curious.

The questions which I begin to address here are: How have endometriosis patients been defined through the use of the R-AFS classification and the typical patient profile? Why is it deemed necessary to define patients at all, and in these particular ways? How has the use of these two codifications affected the treatment and diagnosis of patients? How do definitions of endometriosis patients constructed via these two codifications compare with the ways in which endometriosis patients are defined within patient movements?

The first section of the paper examines the attempts of gynecologists to classify endometriosis patients into groups using the R-AFS classification. I argue that this classification groups women into 'risk populations, defining their experience, interests and concerns in ways that often conflict with patients' self-definitions and that direct medical experts to focus on particular research topics and treatment protocols. The second section focusses on the development and deployment of the typical patient profile. This profile also constructs 'risk populations' for medical surveillance. It also discredits patients' accounts of

their symptoms in two ways: first, by calling into question the mental health of women with endometriosis, thus making their reports of symptoms suspect; and second, by denying that some types of women can have endometriosis, thus making it difficult for these women to obtain accurate diagnosis and therapeutic relief from their symptoms. The third section examines the ways in which patient groups are criticizing and resisting the individualizing and dividing practices reflected in the R-AFS classification and the typical patient profile, and the quite different methods they use to define endometriosis patients. The discussion is informed theoretically by the work of Bruno Latour on immutable mobiles (1986), Robert Castel on risk populations and plans of governability (1991), and Michel Foucault on techniques of individualization and resistance to them (1983). This analysis forms part of a larger examination of the efforts of endometriosis patient groups to contest gynecology's construction of the disease, its treatment, and the women who suffer from it. These efforts represent an attempt to reconfigure the boundaries between expert and lay knowledge. Such an analysis is relevant to broader sociological questions about the power/knowledge relation, the discursive constitution of subjectivity, and the role of social movements in resisting expert knowledges and individualization techniques.

STAGING:

THE R-AFS CLASSIFICATION FOR ENDOMETRIOSIS

Gynecologists have been attempting to classify endometriosis patients into "stages" of disease for over 75 years (Groff, 1989). The explicit goal has always been to predict women's chances of getting pregnant based upon the severity of their disease. None of the staging systems have met this goal very well. They have been plagued by a host of other problems as well. They often do not use standardized or translatable terminology; they use different scales of measurement; they employ inadequate sample

sizes and widely variant patient populations; and they provide inadequate systems for coding different varieties and locations of endometriosis cysts and adhesions (Audebert, 1990; Buttram, 1985; Canis et al., 1993; Groff, 1989).

The failures of previous attempts at classification prompted the American Fertility Society, a professional organization of gynecologists, obstetricians, and reproductive endocrinologists, to convene a panel of endometriosis experts charged with developing a taxonomy for the Society. This was published in 1979; the version currently in use is a modification of this system and was published six years later (American Fertility Society, 1985). This "Revised American Fertility Society Classification for Endometriosis," or R-AFS classification, is the international standard for endometriosis classification because it is relatively easy to use compared to previous systems, and because it was developed by the American Fertility Society, one of the most prestigious professional associations of its kind. A standardized form was developed so that patients could be staged during diagnostic surgery. The form directs surgeons to record and rate the location and extent of endometriotic cysts and adhesions in particular sites of a woman's body using a points system, and to classify her case as one of four stages of severity (minimal, mild, moderate, or severe) based upon her total number of points (American Fertility Society, 1985; Canis et al., 1993:762). Because gynecologists believe that endometriosis on the ovaries and fallopian tubes is most likely to cause infertility, endometriosis in these areas is accorded many points in the staging system, while endometriosis on other areas is accorded few or no points (American Fertility Society, 1985).

The R-AFS classification represented "an effort to establish and document the premise that success of surgery in the infertile female was dependent on the severity of the disease" (Buttram, 1985:347). Standardizing classification of endometriosis facilitates communication between clinicians regarding treatment protocols and allows for the comparison of research into the

success of various therapies in treating infertility. Because the form directs surgeons to examine the pelvis in a standardized way, and because it allows for the description of every case, it has virtually eliminated problems of incommensurability inherent in earlier classification systems. The scoring system is amenable to statistical analysis, so large numbers of commensurable cases can be manipulated by researchers interested in establishing correlations between stage of disease, treatment protocols, and subsequent fertility rates.

50 The R-AFS classification has been roundly criticized by many endometriosis specialists, especially regarding its ability to predict fertility outcomes (Audebert, 1990; Candiani, Vercellini and Fedele, 1990; Canis et al., 1992; Groff, 1989; Fukaya, Hoshiai and Yajima, 1993; Perper et al., 1995; Ripps and Martin, 1993). The Canadian Consensus Conference on Endometriosis refers to the R-AFS system as "the worst form of classification, except for all the others," simultaneously acknowledging its shortcomings and advocating its continued use (CCCE, 1993:7). The R-AFS classification's preferability to any other current system accounts for its continued popularity among gynecologists (CCCE, 1993:7). Although the American Fertility Society has not modified the R-AFS classification for over ten years, it has promised to do so, if and when the utility of modifications in predicting fertility outcomes has been established definitively (Buttram, 1985).

The R-AFS classification is an apt illustration of Bruno Latour's argument that modern scientific culture is concerned with "'holding the focus steady' on visualization and cognition" (1986:5). This is achieved through the production of immutable mobiles, "objects which have the properties of being *mobile* but also *immutable*, *presentable*, *readable*, and *combinable* with one another" (1986:7; emphasis in original)². The R-AFS classification, an "immutable" because standardized and published form of inscription, allows a surgeon's view of a woman's pelvis to be converted into paper traces during surgery. These paper

traces, which are mobile in a way that a surgically visualized woman's pelvis is not, can be presented to potential allies and combined with paper traces of other pelvises to support claims to knowledge about the best way to treat infertility in women with endometriosis.

Latour (1986) also points to the ways in which immutable mobiles can be used to forge alliances, to overcome dissent in the scientific community, and to incorporate previous claims to knowledge. The R-AFS classification drew on an existing professional network, mustering the support of a gynecological elite—members of the American Fertility Society—and all those who recognize the Society's expert authority. It incorporated the successes of former attempts at classification and sought to address their shortcomings, and any subsequent breakthroughs in classification undoubtedly will be incorporated into the R-AFS system. It has generated thousands of combinable surgical reports, virtually eliminating incommensurability across cases, and thus can be used to lend credibility to studies making new claims about how to best treat endometriosis-associated infertility.

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The accumulation of large numbers of R-AFS stagings has been greatly assisted by the introduction of laparoscopy. This is a diagnostic and surgical technique in which a thin viewing instrument (a laparoscope) is inserted into the pelvic cavity via a small incision just below the navel. The pelvic organs can then be visualized without the necessity of large incisions (as was necessary with the older technique of laparotomy) so patients can be persuaded to undergo diagnostic surgery more easily and more often. While laparoscopy requires a general anaesthetic, the small size of incisions means that the procedure can be performed as outpatient surgery, eliminating the need for overnight hospital stays, and that recovery time is relatively short. Laparoscopic surgery has made it possible to visualize thousands of women's pelvises (often repeatedly) with minimal invasiveness relative to older surgical procedures. As the surgeon peers through the laparoscope, s/he can diagnose the con-

dition of the pelvis and can 'stage' that condition by filling out the R-AFS classification form while the woman lies unconscious on the operating table. Then, the R-AFS form can be deposited in the case file, along with treatment plans and fertility outcomes, creating thousands of case files for the researcher, who can then correlate 'stage' of endometriosis, treatment, and fertility.

This creates the possibility of defining risk populations and plans of governability (Castel, 1991). By correlating R-AFS stage of disease with therapeutic approach and fertility outcome, researchers can evaluate the 'risk' of infertility for the four populations corresponding to each R-AFS stage, and how best to 'treat' that risk. Whether or not a woman has experienced problems with infertility, her doctor may prescribe hormonal therapies or perform surgery to 'protect' her fertility, all based upon the 'risk' of infertility suggested by her R-AFS staging. Furthermore, non-surgical markers that would determine the severity and activity of endometriosis, for example through a blood test, are currently being investigated (Audebert, 1990). Such markers may eventually enable wholesale screening for various degrees of endometriosis, assignment to risk populations, and treatment—all without actually establishing the infertility of the women being screened. Thus, the standardization of endometriosis classification opens up a whole realm of technological possibilities and techniques of governance.

The widespread use of the R-AFS classification allows for discussion of endometriosis among researchers and clinicians without direct reference to the women who suffer from it. The women who have been classified are absent from such discussion; only the paper traces of their surgical evaluation (performed while they were under general anaesthetic) remain. Thus, the concerns of individual patients can be more easily ignored. Needs and desires of an entire 'endometriosis population' can be constructed without any input from patients. In Latour's (1986) terms, patients are made "flat," easily understandable, the com-

plexity of their lives reduced to a stage. Women can be grouped in ways that defy the diversity of their life circumstances, concerns (medical or otherwise), and desires. Again, this grouping, this development of 'risk populations' lends itself to plans of governability that may run entirely contrary to the wishes of individual endometriosis patients.

Witness the prioritizing of concerns about infertility in the R-AFS classification: the express purpose of classification is to improve the treatment of endometriosis-associated infertility. The stage of 'severity' is determined by anatomical distribution and extent of endometriotic cysts and adhesions, and is unrelated to the patient's degree of pain or other symptoms. The diagrams of staging examples provided by the American Fertility Society (1985) as an accompaniment to the standard classification form mainly depict endometriosis on the ovaries and fallopian tubes, where it is supposed to affect infertility. Other sites at which endometriosis may be more likely to cause pain than infertility are not depicted in the diagrams or on the R-AFS classification form. Certain parts of women's reproductive anatomy are highlighted, worthy of notice, while others fade into obscurity. Endometriosis in most of these other sites would have to be noted under "additional endometriosis" on the form, and would not be factored into staging as no points are accorded to "additional endometriosis." Thus, the R-AFS classification cannot be used to establish the severity of a patient's pain; consequently, researchers would find it exceedingly difficult to use it to develop new treatments for pain. The R-AFS classification holds the focus steady on infertility, and pain recedes. This is despite the fact that pain is the most common symptom of endometriosis, with infertility a distant runner-up (Barlow and Glynn, 1993:775-776; Lamb, 1987:279; Pauerstein, 1989:133-134). And of course, in the emphasis on infertility, we get a clear indication of gynecology's construction of the proper desires of women: having babies, not living without pain.

To sum up: the R-AFS classification has greatly assisted

gynecological researchers in making claims to knowledge about the relation between endometriosis, infertility, and treatment, and in getting those claims to stick. Whether or not those claims are 'true' and whether or not the R-AFS stage accurately predicts a woman's chances of getting pregnant are matters of debate in gynecology. However, the focus on infertility at the expense of pain is rarely questioned in these debates, and this reinforces the assumption that infertility and not pain is the primary problem for women with endometriosis. 'Risk populations' are defined, treatment plans and research geared toward those populations. Pain becomes a matter for private discussion in the doctor's office and for an experimental, individualized approach to treatment; infertility becomes a matter for 'hard' scientific investigation and research on new treatment protocols. The R-AFS classification is both a symptom and a cause of this focus. The concerns of many women about pain diminish in importance. Artificial groups of, in other ways, vastly different women are created (the one factor uniting these women is, supposedly, their desire to maintain their fertility above all else). Women are reduced to a stage, their individual characteristics and life histories obscured. Their records are combined with other women's records and previously-accepted claims about endometriosis to reinforce researchers' new claims about treatment protocols, which focus on infertility in accordance with the gynecological definition of women's desires. The R-AFS classification works in conjunction with the typical patient profile to psychologize and delegitimize pain and to identify fertility as the proper concern of women and their gynecologists.

PROFILING: THE TYPICAL PATIENT PROFILE

Unlike the R-AFS classification, the typical patient profile has not been codified into a formal document. It exists instead in fragments, statements made in clinical practice and medical literature³. Attempts have been made to dismantle the typical patient profile, especially by feminist health advocates (eg. Ballweg,

1984; Boston Women's Health Book Collective, 1992), epidemiologists (eg. Houston et al., 1988; Pauerstein, 1989), and some gynecologists (eg. CCCE, 1993:7; Kennedy, 1991). Yet, elements of the profile continue to appear in contemporary gynecology textbooks and recent articles in prestigious gynecology journals, and continue to be presented by doctors in their conversations with patients (Boston Women's Health Book Collective, 1992:587; Halstead, Pepping, and Dmowski, 1989; Whelan, 1994). The typical patient profile has two components: demographic and psychological. I will discuss the latter component first.

I. Psychological components of the typical patient profile

The identification of a bi-directional causal link between women's reproductive and psychological health has a long history within medicine (see Astruc, 1985 [1743]; Cayleff, 1992; Ehrenreich and English, 1978; Moscucci, 1990; Showalter, 1985; Smith-Rosenberg and Rosenberg, 1984). In contemporary gynecology, this link is still being made; women with endometrial cysts and adhesions continue to be represented as psychologically disturbed. The typical endometriosis patient has been described as intelligent, perfectionistic, egocentric, career-oriented, over-anxious, and having a tendency to exaggerate pain without attempting to reduce or eliminate it (Gomibuchi et al., 1993:724; Kistner, 1968:329; Treybig, 1989:10). Some of the gynecologists who support the profile are considered top experts in the field, such as Dr. Robert Kistner, one of its leading proponents and a member of the committee that developed the R-AFS classification for the American Fertility Society. In a fascinating application of psychosomatism, he has characterized the typical endometriosis patient as "the *mesomorph eccentric*...it's that type of individual who simply has to clean out the ashtrays all the time" (cited in Older, 1984:135; my emphasis).

Several recent articles in reputable medical journals report on research which evaluates the "neurotic," "depressive," "ag-

gressive," and "anxious" tendencies of women with endometriosis—or at least those who have chronic pain symptoms (Gomibuchi et al., 1993; Low, Edelmann and Sutton, 1993; Waller and Shaw, 1995; see also Renaer et al., 1979). An evaluation of this research suggests three conclusions about the current thinking of gynecologists regarding pelvic pain in women with endometriosis.

First, if a woman is diagnosed with endometriosis, her pain is more likely to be considered organic than the pain of a woman who has not been diagnosed with endometriosis. An undiagnosed woman's pain is more likely to be considered psychogenic. Thus, if physicians cannot diagnose the cause of pain, they may be more likely to attribute it to psychological dysfunction on the part of the patient than to their own inadequacies as diagnosticians.

Second, the pain of women with minimal or mild endometriosis (Stages I and II of the R-AFS classification) is more likely to be considered psychogenic than the pain of women with moderate or severe endometriosis (Stages III or IV). Thus, the R-AFS classification can have important ramifications for patients: if they have severe pain and are classified as having minimal endometriosis, their pain may be less likely to be treated seriously by their physicians. In fact, many women with endometriosis who complain of pelvic pain have been told by their doctors that they were neurotic, overreacting to pain, or uncomfortable with their femininity or sexuality, and they have often received prescriptions for tranquilizers rather than treatment for the pain (Ballweg, 1992:753; DeMarco, 1991:18; Halstead, Pepping and Dmowski, 1989; Lauersen and deSwaan, 1988:95). Thus, the R-AFS classification can be used to define some patients as psychologically disturbed based upon the extent of their endometriosis and the severity of their pain symptoms; in this case, the R-AFS classification and the typical patient profile work together to reinforce existing assumptions about the root causes of women's pain symptoms.

Third, women with pelvic pain are more likely to be con-

sidered psychologically dysfunctional than women who complain of infertility. One study used infertile women as a control group in their psychological evaluation of women with minimal and mild endometriosis (Waller and Shaw, 1995). That is, infertile women were assumed to be psychologically normal; the study population was women with pelvic pain. The researchers assumed that pelvic pain is related to psychological dysfunction, and that infertility is a legitimate organic problem requiring gynecological treatment. Of course, the R-AFS classification's emphasis on the problem of infertility to the exclusion of pain suggests this as well. Again, the R-AFS classification and the typical patient profile work in tandem, in this case to reinforce gynecological assumptions about the proper concerns of women and the veracity of their claims about their bodily experiences.

Thus, the psychological component of the profile reflects two underlying assumptions in the R-AFS classification. The first assumption is that gynecology should focus on the treatment of infertility, while pain should be left to psychologists. As one research team put it, "patients with chronic pain...can be arch-manipulators" and psychologists are better trained to deal with such personalities (Barlow and Glynn, 1993:787). The second assumption is that the anatomic amount and distribution of disease, determined via surgery, determines symptoms. This is a claim which some gynecologists dispute, given the wide range of symptomatology in women with similar anatomical amounts and distributions of endometriosis. These critics argue that histological analysis (microscopic analysis of the activity of endometriosis tissue, such as its production of pain-producing substances) tells us more about women's symptoms than anatomic distribution and amount of disease (Groff, 1989). In fact, women with anatomically minimal endometriosis often have more pain than women with anatomically severe endometriosis (CCCE, 1993:7). However, gynecologists generally are more skilled at surgery than histological analysis, and treating infertility is more lucrative than treating pain; hence, the focus on surgery and

infertility is hardly surprising. Professional interests should not be discounted.

II. Demographic components of the typical patient profile

The typical endometriosis patient has been described as a white, well-educated, middle-class 'career woman' in her thirties or forties who has 'delayed'⁴ childbearing (American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, 1983; Chalmers, 1975:1; Goldman and Cramer, 1990:17-18; Haney, 1990:10; Kistner, 1968:329; 1986:398-399; Tindall, 1986:358-359; Treybig, 1989:10). This demographic profile is still frequently referred to by clinicians, the media, and gynecology texts, although research has demonstrated that women of all ages, races, and socioeconomic statuses, with and without children, have endometriosis (Chatman, 1976; Chatman and Ward, 1982; Goldstein, De Cholnoky and Emans, 1980; Lamb, 1987, 1990). Critics have argued that the patient profile is an artifact of, for example, the substandard medical treatment received by poor and young women and by women of colour, who may never get properly diagnosed (Chatman, 1976:987; Ballweg, 1988; Breitkopf and Bakoulis, 1988:51; Houston et al., 1988:788; Kennedy, 1991:9).

The demographic component of the profile is related to the notion of risk populations which can be diagnosed and treated according to their group characteristics (Castel, 1991). While epidemiologists generally reject the existing typical patient profile as artifactual, they are studying several other 'potential risk factors,' such as menstrual disorders, tampon use, smoking, family history, and immunological disorders (Cramer, 1987; Goldman and Cramer, 1990; Haney, 1990; Houston et al., 1988; Pauerstein, 1989). Many of these factors would be amenable to screening and prevention programmes if their causal effect was definitively established (Cramer, 1987)⁵. Wholesale screening for endometriosis is not currently cost-effective or desirable because the disease can only be diagnosed surgically, but if ef-

forts to develop a non-invasive test for the disease are successful, it may become feasible (Houston et al., 1988:798). If these 'risk factors' are validated by these screening procedures, one's lifestyle choices (smoking, choosing tampons over sanitary napkins) could become, theoretically at least, the target of medico-moral governance projects.

STRATEGIES OF RESISTANCE: ENDOMETRIOSIS PATIENT GROUPS

Bruno Latour has argued that

A man whose eye dominates records through which some sort of connections are established with millions of others may be said to *dominate*. This domination, however, is not a given but a slow construction and it can be corroded, interrupted or destroyed if the records, files and figures are immobilized, made mutable, less readable, less combinable or unclear when displayed (1986:29; emphasis in original).

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The ongoing efforts to improve the R-AFS classification and to replace the typical patient profile with a more satisfactory set of risk factors for endometriosis have corroded the dominant codifications and will undoubtedly lead to their modification or replacement. These efforts represent attempts at inclusion: the inclusion of cases of endometriosis in women that do not fit the typical patient profile; the inclusion of new findings about the staging of endometriosis and its correlation with infertility. We see this strategy of inclusion at work in the critiques of researchers and their attempts to develop 'better' sets of risk factors and 'better' systems of classification.

Also, patients have contributed to the critiques of the R-AFS classification and the typical patient profile, but their critiques do not represent a move toward a more inclusive and totalizing gynecological knowledge. Rather, they represent a strategy of resistance to forms of medical individualization.

Preliminary analysis of endometriosis patient groups suggests some impressions about how this strategy works, drawing upon some principles outlined by Michel Foucault (1983) for analyzing resistance to techniques of individualization.

Foucault argues that many recent social movements are "struggles which question the status of the individual...they assert the right to be different...On the other hand, they attack everything which separates the individual, breaks his links with others...and ties him to his own identity in a constraining way" (1983:212). Patient groups, such as the U.S.-Canada Endometriosis Association, local support groups, and the WITSENDO list server on the Internet, emphasize the simultaneous variety and community of experience among women with endometriosis. Women retain their personal identities and provide their own accounts of their experiences, which are not flattened to make them more combinable (Latour, 1986), as with the R-AFS classification. Patient groups construct a web of accounts that cross over at many points but retain their own trajectories. As Foucault argues, these groups

are not exactly for or against the "individual," but rather they are struggles against the "government of individualization"...[they] revolve around the question: Who are we? They are a refusal of these abstractions...which ignore who we are individually, and a refusal of a scientific or administrative inquisition which determines who one is (1983:212).

Foucault describes several "modes of objectification that transform human beings into subjects;" one of these is "dividing practices" which divide people into groups. The typical patient profile divides women into groups: women who are at risk for endometriosis and women who are not. The R-AFS classification divides women with endometriosis into four stage classifications. Patient groups have challenged the typical patient profile by pointing to research that women of all ages, races, and

classes, with and without children, have endometriosis. They have defied the R-AFS classification by emphasizing the importance of chronic pain as well as infertility, by legitimating women's claims that they experience severe pain despite minimal endometriosis, and by arguing that histological analysis may tell us more about a woman's experience of pain than anatomical analysis via surgery. Patient groups include women who have the symptoms of endometriosis but have never been diagnosed, and many discussions among patients challenge the ability of the R-AFS classification to explain symptoms or therapeutic outcomes. The dividing practices of gynecology are challenged in the process.

Foucault also emphasizes the ways in which many new social movements oppose "secrecy, deformation, and mystifying representations imposed on people" (1983:212). By providing simple explanations of the R-AFS classification system, patient groups translate inaccessible medical jargon into everyday language. By emphasizing the significance of pain symptoms as well as or even more than infertility, patient groups encourage women with endometriosis to contest pejorative representations of their psychological health based upon their symptoms. By publicizing and conducting research which demonstrates that all sorts of women have endometriosis, patient groups encourage women to demand definitive diagnosis, even when their demographics do not fit the typical patient profile.

CONCLUSION

The R-AFS classification and the typical patient profile constitute the 'endometriosis population' as primarily and properly concerned with fertility maintenance, rather than pain relief. Pejorative psychological identities are assigned to women with endometriosis, especially those who suffer from chronic pain. A demographic profile of endometriosis patients is constructed, making it difficult for certain categories of women to attain accurate diagnosis and appropriate treatment. The self-professed

desires and concerns of individual women are obscured and a one-dimensional, unilateral gynecological description is substituted. Women are grouped into 'risk populations' requiring therapeutic governance, expanding indications for medical intervention from treatment to prevention. The variety of the circumstances and symptoms of women with endometriosis recedes from focus and the 'endometriotic subject' rises to the fore.

The preceding analysis has attempted to demonstrate that the R-AFS classification and the typical patient profile are alive and well within gynecological discourse, not to deny that the codifications have been criticized both within and without the profession of gynecology; clearly, these codifications are controversial. The content of many of the patient and expert criticisms of the typical patient profile are strikingly similar, and both patients and experts have questioned the arbitrary staging and the prognostic utility of the R-AFS classification. In the final analysis, however, experts and patient groups are pursuing contradictory goals. While experts are attempting to forge ever more 'accurate,' totalizing descriptions of the endometriotic subject, endometriosis patient groups emphasize both the similarity and variety of experience and life circumstances among women with the disease. Their accounts of the disease retain patient authorship and are not 'flattened' to make them more combinable; they also challenge the legitimacy of dividing practices within gynecological discourse, demystify medical jargon, and present conflicting medical accounts about what women with endometriosis are 'really' like. Thus, informed patient critique becomes possible and is openly encouraged. Rather than forging constraining identities and risk populations, the goal for endometriosis patient groups seems to be, as Foucault (1983:216) puts it, "not to discover what we are, but to refuse what we are."

NOTES

1. Adapted from a paper presented at the Graduate Student Work-In-Progress Seminar, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton

University, February 7, 1997. Thanks to Bruce Curtis, the Work-in-Progress Seminar participants, and the Alternate Routes editorial collective for their helpful comments; and also to Annette Burfoot, Roberta Hamilton, David Lyon, Christine Overall, Barbara Mains, Mary Lou Ballweg, and participants in earlier focus group research for helping me think through the politics of endometriosis knowledge.

2. The notion of immutable mobiles is a core component of Latour's (1986; 1987) actor-network theory, which aims to identify the local, contingent, consensus-building activities engaged in by scientists to obtain credibility for their claims. Scientists accomplish this by recruiting supporters in scientific and extrascientific communities, often by 'piggy-backing' their new claim onto established ones. This makes it difficult to dispute the new claim because to do so would be to take issue with an accepted stock of knowledge and all of its adherents. In order to attain widespread acceptance, a claim must be *mobile*; that is, it must be able to move freely between different contexts and localities. The R-AFS classification, for example, has been translated into several languages and has been published as a form that can be ordered from the American Fertility Society. However, as claims are taken up by others, they may be modified. In order to maintain the recognizability of their claims across different contexts and in the hands of different users, scientists attempt to make their claims *immutable*. The presentation of the R-AFS classification in the shape of a published form resists its substantive modification. See Callon, 1986, Callon and Law, 1989, and Ward, 1996 for applications and further development of actor-network analysis.

3. For some recent medical discussions of the typical patient profile, see American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists (1983), Barlow and Glynn (1993:787), Chalmers (1975:1), Goldman and Cramer (1990:17-18), Gomibuchi et al. (1993:724), Haney (1990:10), Kistner (1986:398-399), Pauerstein (1989:130-133), Tindall (1986:358-359), and Treybig (1989:10).

4. The term 'delayed' implies that childbearing is *desirable* at a young age (often explicitly stated by gynecologists), but a moral or instinctual *imperative* at some point in a woman's life (a more implicitly held assumption).

5. At least one of these factors (smoking) is already a focus of projects that target individuals for moral reform, although these projects so far have not added endometriosis to the long list of ills and abuses inflicted on the population by tobacco users.

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BOOK REVIEW

Listen Anarchist!: Murray Bookchin's Defence of Orthodoxy

Murray Bookchin. *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm*. Edinburgh: AK Press, 1995, 86pp.

Jeffrey Shantz

Unless I am gravely mistaken—as I hope I am—the revolutionary and social goals of anarchism are suffering a far-reaching erosion to a point where the word *anarchy* will become part of the chic bourgeois vocabulary of the coming century—naughty, rebellious, insouciant, but deliciously safe (Bookchin, 1995: 3).

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A spectre is haunting social theory—the spectre of anarchism. Anarchist politics have enjoyed, since the early 1990s, something of a renaissance. While it certainly cannot be said that all the Old Powers have entered into a holy alliance to exorcize this spectre, it would appear that anarchism is back on the agenda. Making matters even more interesting, that which currently passes for anarchism often materializes in strange, unrecognizable forms bearing little obvious resemblance to what is traditionally known as anarchism, those historic movements against coercive authority, hierarchy and injustice in their many guises. It is precisely the novelty of contemporary anarchism which has prompted the writing of Bookchin's text.

Penned by perhaps the most significant and widely read anarchist thinker of the post-WW II era, *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism* has exploded like a bomb amongst the anar-

chist communities of North America, becoming one of the most controversial works in a tradition of controversial literature. More ink has been spilled responding to this slim volume than any other anarchist book in recent memory (including Hakim Bey's contentious *Temporary Autonomous Zone* (1991)). That most of the responses have consisted of angry denunciations of Bookchin, going so far as to question his character and motive, suggests that the work has struck a very raw nerve.

In his introductory chapter, "A Note to the Reader," Bookchin situates his book as a response to "the fact that anarchism stands at a turning point in its long and turbulent history" (1). For Bookchin, however, this turning point is not one which promises renewal as some have celebrated. Rather, anarchism now finds itself at a day of reckoning because contemporary anarchists have forsaken the revolutionary tradition of anarchism, preferring to become just another bohemian subculture with no interest in confronting the powers of State and Capital. Bookchin suggests that contemporary anarchism represents a fatal retreat from the social concerns (and communal politics) of classical anarchism into episodic adventurism and a decadent egoism. This unfortunate transformation threatens to make anarchism irrelevant at precisely the moment when it is most needed as a counterforce to globalization and the social dislocations engendered by neoliberal policies. Through the book's two chapters, "Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism" and "The Left That Was: A Personal Reflection," Bookchin offers his meditations on what has gone wrong with anarchism as he sees it and how anarchists might return to the social roots of their past glories.

The book's first and principal essay "Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism" consists of an extended polemic against the main theoretical proponents of lifestyle anarchism. The essay provides a valuable survey of trends within contemporary anarchist thought. Bookchin identifies four main streams of lifestyle anarchism: "individualist anarchism," "mystical or irrationalist anarchism," "anti-technologism" and "neo-primitivism." Com-

ing under particular scrutiny are the diverse works of L. Susan Brown (1993) (individualism), Hakim Bey and his notion of Temporary Autonomous Zones (1991) (mysticism), and John Zerzan ((1994), neo-primitivist theorist and author of *Future Primitive*. Bookchin also manages to single out for condemnation the editors and writers of the *Fifth Estate* and *Anarchy* magazines, the most influential anarchist periodicals (and ironically organized as collectives). This section is worthwhile reading for sociologists and social theorists seeking a basic (though by no means friendly) introduction to major debates and initiatives currently engaged within anarchist thought. Those pondering the prospects for social movements in a postmodern age will find Bookchin's harsh characterization of anarchy a provocative contribution to current discussions.

Bookchin recognizes that the history of anarchism has always expressed a tension between a personalistic commitment (emphasizing individual autonomy) and a collectivist commitment (emphasizing social freedoms). The author illustrates that with the advent of anarcho-syndicalism and anarcho-communism at the turn of the twentieth century, individualist anarchism was largely marginalized amidst the emergence of mass workers' movements and the organized power of general strikes. Individualist anarchism came to be seen as little more than bohemian exotica, a distinctly petty-bourgeois indulgence characteristic of liberalism rather than anarchism (7). Rather than reaching a reconciliation, however, these tendencies have coexisted in constant struggle with either becoming predominant according to context or era. Indeed, this tension has been celebrated by some anarchists as evidence of anarchism's pluralism, ideological tolerance and creativity (4). For Bookchin, however, it is the very failure of anarchism to resolve this conflict over the relationship of the individual to the collective which has given rise to the worrisome condition in which he finds contemporary anarchism. Now the individualists are back and with a vengeance which threatens to end the anarchist project.

What all of the new (but definitely not improved) lifestyle anarchists have in common is that they have given up social analysis in favour of a “trendy” nihilism. In place of any analysis of alienated labour or the workings of the market, anarchists have mystified capitalism into vague abstractions such as “industrial society” or the “megamachine” in which oppression becomes an effect of a decontextualized Technology. Instead of traditional anarchist concerns with hierarchy, statism and the commodification of everyday life, lifestylists are preoccupied with “autonomy,” “primitivism” and “personal insurrection.” For lifestylists, “[h]istory and civilization consist of nothing but a descent into the inauthenticity of ‘industrial society’” (50). The return to “authenticity,” now anarchism’s motive force, is driven by intuition and instinct rather than by analysis and reason. The turn towards the “irrational” means that anarchists have given away the tools needed to dismantle neoliberalism. This leads to Bookchin’s angry conclusion that lifestyle anarchism is not anarchist at all and has no legitimate claims to the courageous heritage of the social anarchists who too often paid for their convictions and commitment to social transformation with their lives.

Bookchin derides the “polymorphous concepts of resistance” and “theoretical pluralism” of individualist anarchism. Instead he proposes a “democratic communalism” in which anarchism is conceived as “a majoritarian administration of the public sphere” (57). His vision of anarchy allows for the “rule” of the majority and nonconsensual decisions. This seems a step backwards for anarchist conceptions of democracy. It does not require much imagination to envision the possibly authoritarian implications of Bookchin’s communalism.

The second essay, “The Left That Was: A Personal Reflection,” consists of Bookchin’s nostalgic trip down memory lane to the supposed “good old days” of the political Left. The reason for its inclusion along with the main essay appears to be an appeal to anarchists to give up their wayward individualist ways

by following the proper path of the socialist which the essay reveals. This essay provides summary statements of Leftist conceptions of internationalism, democracy and revolution which guided nineteenth and early-twentieth century resistance to capitalism and which are supposedly lacking from today's "Left" (68). Bookchin does not limit this discussion to anarchists, but gives significant attention to the works of Marx and Engels and Rosa Luxemburg. Unfortunately, this account is quite cursory, and will be of little interest to readers with any knowledge of radical politics or history.

Overall, Bookchin fails to understand (or to admit) the complexly nuanced relationship between individualist and socialist tendencies in anarchism, seeing an "unbridgeable chasm" rather than an unavoidable byproduct of the innovation and experimentation of actors seeking to question profoundly all established conventions. It is precisely this creative rethinking of accepted authority from which anarchism has drawn its strength and sustenance, and which has served as the source of its renown. A glance at most anarchist publications actually shows a lively and engaged mix of "individualist" and "socialist" perspectives. Likewise, Bookchin chooses to overlook the intermingling of lifestyle and social anarchists in action. For example, the members of the ultra-lifestylist Trumbell Theater Complex in Detroit recently affiliated to the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World. Further, one finds lifestyle concerns in the programmatic anarchism of the Love and Rage Federation.

Bookchin identifies lifestylists as anti-theoretical, yet his book is entirely devoted to dissecting lifestyle *theories and theorists*. For someone so concerned with impacts upon *activists* they are noticeably absent from his discussion. Bookchin is unable to provide any insights into whether or not anarchists even read Hakim Bey or L. Susan Brown. Given the "Letters" columns of such unrepentant lifestyle "rags" as the *Fifth Estate* and *Anarchy* it appears that those who have read them do not much agree with them. Certainly Bookchin has overstated the threat.

This suggests, if anything, that he is out of touch with what anarchists are actually doing.

His characterization of lifestylists' commitment to imagination, desire, ecstasy and everyday life as apolitical suggests that Bookchin is also out of touch with the insights of recent *social* movements which recognize that the personal is indeed political. Additionally, Bookchin's claim that, during the heyday of social anarchism, individualists exercised hardly any influence, is undermined if one considers only the case of Emma Goldman who Bookchin himself identifies as an extreme individualist, "a Nietzschean" (8). For Bookchin the only approved forms of social action seem to be creating organizations and developing programs. Cultural activism is missing from his conception of politics. However, some of the most striking acts of *lifestyle* anarchism—culture jamming, video activism, micro-radio broadcasts—are profoundly social, directed at disrupting the passifying effects of consumer *society* and the practices of *social* production and reproduction.

Furthermore, it is not even accurate to charge lifestylists with "allowing no room for social institutions, political organizations, and radical programs" (51). Rather, lifestylists are concerned with developing new forms which are appropriate to the needs and wishes of contemporary actors. Most anarchists are social anarchists who still believe in possibilities for social transformation. Bookchin's deep nostalgia for past practices (even failed and discredited ones) again interferes with his understanding of what today's anarchists are trying to accomplish.

That Bookchin is out of touch with anarchist practice is perhaps most clearly reflected in his assessment that "precisely at a time when mass disillusionment with the state has reached unprecedented proportions, anarchism is in retreat" (59). He even blames this "failure of anarchism" upon "the insularity of lifestyle anarchism" (59). Nothing could be further from the truth. Anarchism has enjoyed a tremendous comeback recently and the creativity and vibrancy of lifestylists has contributed

much to this.

Finally, a brief note about the style and tone of this book. It is often a chore to find the analysis amidst the invective and snarling personal attacks. In order to benefit from the book, one must read past the vitriol. Similarly, Bookchin throws around hazy and vague accusations referring to individualists at one moment as petty bourgeois, at others as lumpen. Such a loose play of terminology renders the words meaningless beyond being arbitrarily applied epithets. Indeed, the contempt with which Bookchin treats the authors under consideration must make the reader wary of much of the characterizations.

Bookchin's book is most interesting and helpful as an introduction to some of the major currents engaged with the re-emergence of anarchist theory. It is important in bringing attention to a traditionally overlooked sector of social movement activism. In this regard, it will prove useful for students of social movements and radical politics. It will furthermore be of interest to sociologists concerned with critically rethinking individual/society relationships and questions of structure and agency.

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Ironically, the lifestyle variants criticized by Bookchin sound more compelling, and more liberatory, than the "orthodox anarchism" to which they are counterpoised. In the final analysis, readers interested in contemporary anarchism should pick up the *Fifth Estate*, *Anarchy*, *Love and Rage* or the *Liberarian Labor Review*.

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BOOK REVIEW

Nationalism by Ernest Gellner

Nationalism. Ernest Gellner. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997, 114 pp.

Antonio Sorge

Ernest Gellner's last book, *Nationalism*, was published posthumously in the final months of 1997, and provides a refinement of his erudite account of the origins of nationalism. It is his last word on this phenomenon, the study of which occupied much of his intellectual energy since his groundbreaking *Nations and Nationalism* (1983). Nationalism, according to Gellner, is a product of the forces of modernity, and is generated from a set of socio-political complexities which flow from industrial organisation. Nationalism, he argues, arises in the third stage of human history, which he calls the "scientific-industrial" stage. The two previous stages are the "hunting and gathering" and the "agro-literate." The understanding that nationalism is a modern phenomenon which is not present in the two previous stages is contextualised within Gellner's conjectural (though reasoned) history of humankind, as presented in his *Plough, Sword, and Book: The Structure of Human History* (1988). This history posits the preconditions for the transfiguration of one type of social order and its progression into another, until we arrive at the modern era. Gellner's latest work can be better appreciated with an understanding of this broader framework, which is briefly discussed in the third chapter of *Nationalism*, "A short history of mankind," but which will not be provided here for purposes of brevity.

The refinement of Gellner's ideas on nationalism can be

found in his discussion of particular “stages,” “time zones,” and the “stage of morality” within which it emerges. Before discussing these, he sets forth two broad scenarios, which are both particulars of a type of social order: The first is conducive to the emergence of nationalism, and the other not. In his own words, the first is one “in which a mobile anonymous mass of participants share the same “high” culture, relatively free of internal nuances, but linked to the political boundaries of the unit with which it is identified” (31). The second is “an agrarian social order in which differences and nuances of culture underwrite a complex system of statuses, but do not indicate limits of political units” (31). It is in the former ideal-type that we witness the emergence of the principle of nationalism, which holds that nation and state should coincide. Violation of this principle is a violation of the normative “right” to self-rule, or political sovereignty. The transition from the first type of order to the second is schematised in five stages. These stages are largely inspired by the Central European experience, in which the progression towards a normative formulation of nationalism emerged through specific historical eras. The first of these stages was the Congress of Vienna of 1814-1815, in which the map of Europe was redrawn following Napoleon’s defeat. The last stage is the “Attainment of National Feeling,” essentially the establishment of a normative order in which the citizens of any one discrete political entity “speak the same [political] language” as the citizens of neighbouring states: the language of nationalism (47). The stages in between are the “The Age of Irredentism,” “The Age of Versailles and Wilson,” and “Ethnic Cleansing.” It should be noted, however, that not all types of nationalism necessarily need to pass through all five stages, and since reality is more complex than to be effectively explained by five-stage models, Gellner introduces the notion of time zones.

The four *time zones* of nationalism account for the variation in forms of state and culture bonds. These time zones proceed from west to east. The first time zone consists of the Atlan-

tic fringe of Europe and those societies distributed along it. These societies have had a long history of dynastic states ruling over peoples who were more or less culturally homogenous, or at least formed coherent "cultural-linguistic zones" (51) which coincided with these states, consisting of Portugal, Spain, France, and England. The coming of the "Age of Nationalism" required no great changes for these societies, since state and culture already roughly coincided. Proceeding east, we have the second time zone, in which nationalism was of a unificatory variety. The particular cases here are Germany and Italy, which already had the high cultures requisite of the national state, but had no history of state-culture congruity. The third time zone is found within eastern Europe, including those regions like the Volga bend, the Caucasus, the Balkans, and much of central Asia, where neither cultural homogeneity nor national states were ever present. In these regions, the normative "one state-one culture" model of legitimacy typical of nationalist politics would lead to a type of nation-building whereby to attain national unity, an inexorable process of ethnic cleansing would need to happen, in which a significant amount of cultural and social engineering would result in violence and brutality. The fourth time zone is that area of eastern Europe placed under Soviet influence and which developed into the successor states of the former Soviet Union. Nationalism in these locales benefitted from the Soviet defeat in the economic Cold War, and decisively contributed to the decline of communism once this happened. As we can see from this description, the varieties of nationalism differ considerably, however the mainstay of Gellner's argument is the essential modernity of the phenomenon of nationalism, for which industrial society remains ever responsible.

We are still reminded of the modernity of the whole process in his discussion of the Islamic world as constituting the fifth time zone. Throughout Islam secularisation, the separation of religion from political life, is often not seen to occur. Rather, the historic tension found in the Muslim world between "high"

and "low" variants of Islam often gives way to the establishment of a hegemony of the Islam of clerics and scholars. In other words, a normative, "high" Islamic, or the "great," tradition, as opposed to the folk tradition with its saint cults and brotherhoods, would prevail and become the normative form of political identity. The only thing essentially distinguishing the Islamic world's nationalism (by the use of the term "nationalism" in this context, Gellner presumably means "Islamic fundamentalism") from European nationalism is the lack of severance between faith and culture.

The historical circumstances leading to the emergence of nationalism are encompassed within Gellner's "stages of morality," otherwise expressed as the ethos or socio-philosophical orientations of any given period. Regardless of the various shapes and forms it may assume, or the idioms through which it may be expressed, nationalism is typical of a given stage of human history—the scientific-industrial—and of the morality of this stage. The first of these consists of the morality of "My Station and its Duties." Then comes the Enlightenment, and then the backlash of Romanticism, which is the atmosphere within which nationalism emerges in early modern Europe. My Station and its Duties corresponds to the agrarian world, and it entails that one's identity and source of fulfilment to be "linked to his occupancy of a place in a stable and hierarchical social order" (63). Neither ethnicity nor nationality are present in considerations of the legitimacy of the hierarchical socio-political order, and although cultural variation is generally present "between the various entrenched and sacralised strata," (63) such does not define the *limits* of political units, nor is it tied to any understanding of either the content or validating myth of morality. The Enlightenment was to launch an attack upon this morality, incidentally summed up by Marx in his phrase "the idiocy of rural life" (60). The universalist and individualist ethic of the Enlightenment held sacred the principle that human obligations and sources of fulfilment flow from our shared humanity, and not our status

held in place by “superstition and... phoney reasoning” (64). However, by its logic this universalist ethic, which would have us draw no objective distinction among peoples or allow no group’s valorisation over another, was also offensive in its rationalisation of our shared humanity and human sentiment. Immanuel Kant’s version of rationality was especially offensive in that it, for example, would have us believe that even the emotion of love amounts to benevolence for the sake of duty (66). This intrusion into realms that people hold most sacred, like personal love and self-sacrifice, would precipitate a Romanticist backlash. Romanticism, especially its political variant, “valued and praised feeling [as opposed to reason] and specificity [as opposed to universality]—above all, *cultural* specificity” (67, emphasis in original). Human relationships, and thus society, are not logically reducible to a biological organism which can be scrutinised by reason, and nor is everyone the same, but it is our diversity which is the source of our humanity. From within the Romantic age emerged the great expositors of the nationalist ideal, beginning in Germany with the poet Friedrich Schiller, and then the nationalist Johann Gottfried von Herder (66-68). The emergence of nationalism is then contingent upon, on the one hand, the transition to modernity and the logic of industrialism and, on the other, the underpinnings of the prevailing philosophical currents.

In chapter 15, “Do Nations Have Navels?”, which has its point of origin at a debate with Anthony Smith which was held at Warwick University in October 1995, Gellner assumes his stand on the question concerning the divergence between primordialists and modernists on the issue of nationalism. Modernists and primordialists operate from widely divergent premises. Modernists believe that “nations”, as they are conceived by nationalists, are the product of social forces inhering in the modern world, whereas primordialists believe that nations are given, and that the differences between, and the distinctive “characters” of, nations have deep roots, which have existed since time im-

memorial. If, Gellner posits, using the Biblical analogy of Adam's navel, nations are born of the forces of modernity—as they generally are—then most nations have navels thrust upon them by their modern nationalist leaders. This is not to say that Gellner repudiates primordialism entirely. However he does point out that nations which have a genuinely historical (read primordial) navel (read existence) are few, and that European nationalist thinkers have decreed that all nations must be endowed with a navel to coincide with discrete political entities.

82 What, we may well ask, are the practical implications of Gellner's rather meandering thesis, or its ramifications for the modern world? Moreover, what might be the possible alternatives to a world rife with ethnic conflict, and the suffering which nationalism often entails? The world has changed, in the latter half of the twentieth century, to the point where we are left with few alternatives in dealing with this predicament. If, as Gellner suggests, nationalism is not "a consequence of some universal territorial or kin drive" (103), but is rather produced by the confluence of certain elements in the transition to the modern world, can its potential destructiveness and the suffering it brings be attenuated? Gellner answers the question in the affirmative, but suggests it would require a fair dose of cooperative political will on an international scale. An explanation of this should be contextualised within the scope Gellner's liberal-democratic ideals.

Like most conservatives, he views continuity and stability as conducive to peace. The flip side of the coin, of course, would be great social upheavals and discontinuities leading to strife which, in our modern world, often is of an ethnic variety. The strife afflicting the former Soviet or Yugoslav republics is a good example of this. Next, affluence, or the belief in its immanent arrival, largely dissuades people from engaging in "violent conduct which will disrupt their world" (106). The probability of violent conflict is much higher in circumstances where a group's situation is deteriorating, not to mention desperate.

Greater local autonomy (or cantonisation), on the one hand, and greater ultimate political units, on the other, may well simultaneously flow from advanced industrialism. The reason, partly, is that the proliferation of the know-how for creating destructive nuclear and biological weapons gives rise to a need for "effective central control [that] can avert either ecological catastrophe or the use of effective blackmail by small groups willing and able to impose terrible punishment on those not complying with their dictates" (106). Thus, "the agencies preventing nuclear and ecological disaster, controlling the drugs and arms trades, and so on, will have to be super-ethnic, while the agency administering the school and welfare system may become sub-ethnic" (107). The development of "non-territorial cultural associations" and the "de-fetishisation" of land, along with a "de-territorialisation" of nationalism are the final components of his prescription. We are left to see whether this is liable to ever occur, and we are also left wondering whether or how such arrangements could be established without actually precipitating the troubles we want to avoid in the first place.

In the final analysis, however, *Nationalism* has many praiseworthy qualities. The central argument's clarity makes it quite appealing. At the same time, its seeming simplicity incorporates a richness of insight and explanatory skill. Gellner presents a rather complex and engrossing account of a rather complex phenomenon and problem, and succeeds. His lucid prose clearly illustrates the highly contingent nature of nationalism, and its variations through both time and space. The overall model is a coherent one which any student of nationalism would do well to take as a guide in any application to actual historical cases, and to allow to be appraised and refined through such applications.

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